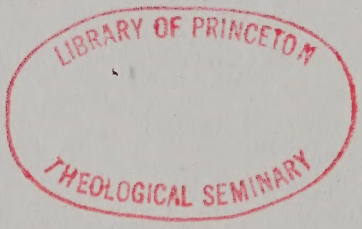

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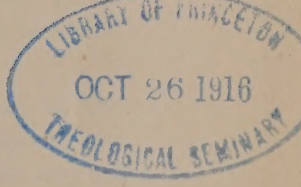

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Gregorii Turonensis Opera. Migne T. LXXI.

Guizot. Histoire de la Civilisation en France.

Lau. Gregor I. der Grosse nach seinem Leben.

Loening. Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts.

Mabillon. Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti.

Mansi. Concilia.

Migne. Patrologia (esp. tt. 87—89; 97, 98).

Milman. Latin Christianity.

Montalembert. Les Moines de l'Occident.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Gregorii Magni Epistolae Libb. i—iv. Capitularia Regum Francorum. Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum.

Neander. General History of the Christian Religion and Church.

Ranke. Weltgeschichte.

Schaff. History of the Christian Church.

Wattenbach. Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter.

Wisbaum. Die wichtigen Richtungen des Papstes Gregors des Grossen.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT AND HIS RELATIONS WITH GAUL.

Origin of Christianity in Gaul.

Of the introduction of Christianity into Gaul we have no immediate information. But in 177 A.D. there were already flourishing Churches at Lugdunum and Vienna, called upon in that year to yield many members to join 'the noble army of martyrs'. The relations of intimacy in which they stood to the Churches of Asia would seem to suggest that they were founded from Asia, a surmise greatly strengthened by the fact that the peculiarities of ritual which distinguished the Asiatic Churches from those of other provinces were observed also in the Churches of Gaul.

The Churches of Gaul.

The history of these Churches was not unworthy of their origin. Their first bishop, Pothinus, martyred at the age of ninety, had upheld the traditions of Polycarp and S. John[1]. His successor in the see of Lugdunum, Irenaeus, was the first great champion of Christian orthodoxy. The first hymn-writer of the Church, and, next to Athanasius, the chief defender of the Catholic doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, was Hilarius of Pictavium in Gaul. The most devoted monk of the West was the

[1] See Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. I. 27 and 28.

soldier-bishop of Turones, S. Martinus, whose grave became the most wonder-working shrine in Europe. Hilarius of Arelate was surpassed by few preachers in eloquence and few bishops in energy. It was Avitus of Vienne and Caesarius of Arles that bore the brunt of the struggle with Semi-Pelagianism. And the most successful missionary enterprise of the Church of the Empire was the conversion of the unconquered Hibernia by the young Gallo-Roman, Patricius[1].

Civilisation of Gaul.

And nowhere had the civilisation of ancient Greece and Rome found a fairer field than in Gaul. Rhetoric and philosophy flourished there as if in native soil. Scholars like Jerome sought learning in its schools, and in all that we call culture the Gaul of the first centuries of our era had no equal.

The Teutonic Conquest.

Such was the state of society and such the traditions of the Church when the flood of Teutonic invasion swept over the land. The first tribe to settle in what had been Roman Gaul was that of the Burgundians, who between the years 406 and 413 established themselves along the Rhône and Saône. During the next forty years the regions to the west of the Rhône, between the Loire and the Pyrenees, were occupied by the Visigoths. These tribes were already partially Christianised[2], Arian teachers having converted their chiefs. A more terrible scourge was to fall on the country. In

[1] But the nationality of 'S. Patrick' has long been disputed. See Stokes's Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 36.

[2] For the conversion of the Burgundians see Socrates, Eccl. Hist. VII. 30.

486 A.D. Chlodwig led a band of barbarous and heathen Franks across the Rhine, defeated the Roman prætor Syagrius, and founded between the Seine and Rhine the Frankish kingdom. Ten years later he professed his conversion to the Catholic faith, and turned his arms against the Arian Visigoths[1]. These, as well as the Burgundians, were compelled to submit to his successors, and by the middle of the sixth century almost the whole of the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees was in the hands of the Franks[2].

Results of the conquest:

The conquest had at first a deteriorating effect on the character and institutions of the conquerors[3]. The strong human nature of the Franks, under the influences of Roman civilisation and wealth, became tainted and impure. To the old passionateness were added a deceitfulness and treachery of which it knew nothing before. The old system—the ideal of Tacitus —passed utterly out of mind. The Village Commune might suit a tribe dependent on agriculture and confined within narrow borders. But now with a whole country before them, the families occupied vast domains and dwelt far apart. The king, no longer merely the father of the tribe, claims the Imperial estates, and finds himself independent of his comites. Round him there gather those free-

on the conquerors;

[1] Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. II. 37. 92 (Chlodwig loq.), 'Valde moleste fero quod hi Ariani partem teneant Galliarum: eamus cum Dei adjutorio et superatis redigamus terram in ditionem nostram.'

[2] The 'Provincia' was ceded to the Franks by an Imperial decree in 536. Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, I. 118.

[3] See Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France.

men who are too restless to settle down to till the land, a band of warriors passing their time in social idleness and war. These, as the power of the king grew and his abode became fixed, inevitably became vassals and courtiers. To attach them to his service he would grant them 'fees' and offices about his person, while those who had settled on the conquered lands held their estates from him as 'allodia.'

Thus in process of time[1] arose the Feudal System, the great product of the Frankish conquest of Gaul.

on the conquered;

The conquered found the conquest not so destructive as we might have imagined. It is true that in the north-east of Gaul, the region which had been most exposed to the ferocity of the Huns and pagan Franks, the Gallo-Romans had been almost exterminated. It is true that the barbarians, especially the Vandals, had utterly destroyed many towns; that land which had been under cultivation was abandoned to desolation and to thorns[2]; that neglect of drainage turned many a pasture into bog; that the forests were haunted by brigands[3]; and that communication between the towns was almost destroyed. Robbery and violence[4] were common

[1] Three centuries passed before Feudalism took organised form; but the facts here noted were phases of its development.

[2] All the 'Lives of the Saints' speak of the thorns. Many abbeys were named after them, e.g. Roncereium, Spinalium.

[3] It was reported to St Seine that in the forest into which he was entering there were brigands who 'bestiarum more, carnibus humanis ac cruoribus depascuntur.' Vita S. Sequani, 7. 8, quoted by Montalembert, II. 335. (Mabillon, Acta SS. I. 265.)

[4] The Salic Law is almost entirely directed against robbery and violent assault.

crimes, and the general insecurity and disorganisation paralysed agriculture and trade.

And yet, as a rule, the Gallo-Romans retained all their rights. Their property was left to them untouched. They were recognised as free-men and admitted as 'antrustions' to the councils of the king. The sole distinction in law between the Frankish and the Gallo-Roman free-man was that the wergild of the latter was but half that of the former.

on the Episcopate.

As the habits and tastes of the Franks had made them select the open country for their homes, so, accustomed to regard the city as the centre of civilisation, the conquered sought security within the walls of towns. Hence it was that while the Imperial officers disappeared at the conquest, the municipal governments—one of Rome's best legacies to the succeeding age—continued in undisturbed action[1]. In this municipal government the bishop discharged an important function. On a small scale, the part of a Leo or Gregory was played by most of the bishops of the countries overrun by Teutonic invaders. The withdrawal of the Imperial officer, with whom he had divided authority over the district, left each prelate in sole charge of his flock. Whether he would or not, he could not prevent the citizens from turning to him for guidance, for judgement, for commands. To the townsman he became head and magistrate and protector; to the invader he was the only official and responsible representative of the town.

[1] The monuments of this period, according to Montalembert, abound in titles like duumvir and advocatus.

Already in the name of their churches the bishops held estates. Nor were the Frankish nobles and kings slow to display their zeal for their new religion by large endowments to various monasteries and churches. Thus the bishops, becoming great landowners, were swept into the vortex of the Feudal System[1]. The kings could find no counsellors to rival them in intelligence and knowledge of men; and thus they became royal ministers, with courtly and military duties[2] differing little if at all from those of laymen.

Nor was the fact that they were 'beneficiaries' the only claim the king had on the bishops. As in the State, so in the Church, the Frankish king found a vacancy which none but himself could fill. We have seen how the municipal government of cities remained the same under the Frankish king as under the Roman Emperor, with the single change that the supreme power, abdicated by the Emperor, now belonged to the king. Just so, the organisation of the Church remained unaltered, for the au-

Church and State.

[1] Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. iv. 2. 141, 'Denique Chlothacharius rex indixerat ut omnes Ecclesiae regni sui tertiam fructuum fisco dissolverent.' Thus the kings attempted to treat all Church lands as held feudally.

[2] Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. iv. 43. 183, 'Fueruntque in hoc proelio Salonius et Sagittarius, fratres atque episcopi qui non cruce caelesti muniti sed galea aut lorica saeculari armati multos manibus propriis quod pejus est interfecisse referuntur.' Other actions of these two bishops point to a general irregularity. (Greg. of Tours. v. 21. 231, 'Assumto episcopatu, in proprium relati arbitrium, coeperunt in pervasionibus, caedibus, homicidiis adulteriisque diversisque in sceleribus insano furore grassari,' &c.)

thority of the Emperor in matters ecclesiastical was assumed by the king.

The Emperor and the Church.

From the time of Constantine the Emperor had been recognised by the Churches of the Empire as their supreme Head on earth. The first Christian Emperor had called himself 'the divinely-appointed bishop of the external affairs of the Church.' His son had delighted in the title 'Bishop of Bishops.' Till almost the end of the fourth century, the Emperors retained the old heathen title, Pontifex Maximus. An inviolable priesthood was recognised by the Church as theirs by right divine[1]. The supervision of the clergy, the nomination of the chief bishops, the convocation of councils, the administration of discipline, and the enforcement of orthodoxy[2] were among the prerogatives they claimed.

The King and the Church.

With the collapse of the Imperial power in Gaul the place occupied hitherto by the Emperor became vacant. The clergy were too weak, especially in the confusion that followed the conquest, to dispense with secular support. To the king then they turned for help, and permitted him to assume all the power of the old 'Imperial Papacy'.

Thus partly through the extension of Feudalism to the possessions and officials of the Church and partly through the supremacy held formerly by the Emperor, now by the Frankish king, the connexion of Church and State threatened to be ruinous to the

[1] At the Council of Chalcedon, 451, the Emperor was addressed as *τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ βασιλεῖ*. Mansi, VI. 734.

[2] At the Council of Milan, 355, Constantius said, *ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν νομιζέσθω.*

former. The clergy—chiefly members of the Gallo-Roman society—soon saw with dismay the tendency of the age. They resisted with success the claims of *Creed.* the king to regulate their faith[1], but on other points their weakness was only too manifest.

Patronage. Even under the rule of the Emperor, the bishops had usually been chosen by the clergy and people of the diocese. But in Frankish Gaul, since they were to sit in his council and hold large fees at his hands, the king claimed the right of nominating whom he would for the episcopal sees. In many cases the wealth of the bishopric made it a coveted prize, for which many a Frankish noble was ready to bid high[2]. Often it became the reward of faithful service or a favourite's guerdon. Nor was this the full extent of the abuse. Since in royal eyes the bishop was a feudal vassal, why should these rich benefices be reserved for the priests? Why should not the Frank layman be promoted to these posts equally with the Gallo-Roman clerk? Hence came the sudden[3] consecration of some warrior or counsellor or favourite

[1] Greg. of Tours, v. 45. 257 and 258. Chilperich drew up a creed and tried to impose it on the bishops, but they objected, on which he ceased to interfere with doctrine. 'Scripsit indiculum ut sancta Trinitas non in personarum distinctione sed tantum Deus nominaretur...Sic, inquit, volo ut tu et reliqui doctores ecclesiarum credatis.' Gregory and Salvius, bishop of Albi, reject it: 'Et sic rex ab hac intentione quievit.'

[2] Greg. of Tours, Vitae Patrum, vi. 3. 1171, 'Jam tunc germen illud iniquum coeperat pullulare ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus aut compararetur a clericis.

[3] Denounced by the Fifth Council of Orleans, 549, c. 9 (Mansi, ix. 131), 'Nullus ex laicis absque anni conversione praemissa episcopus ordinetur.'

to fill the vacancy in one of these rich offices caused by the death of the bishop.

It was in vain that some of the clergy manfully resisted these evil influences. Though synod after synod protested[1], though compromises between the royal claims and the rights of the priesthood and people were made, the king's power and the temptation to use it were too great. The abuses continued; bishoprics were still bought and sold, or bestowed upon men[2] consecrated on purpose to be qualified for them.

Councils.

The authority over councils, exercised on Roman soil by the Emperor, fell in Gaul to the Frankish king. No council was allowed to meet without his consent, nor had its decrees any binding force till they had been confirmed by him.

Clerical degeneration.

But the increase of the royal power was not the only danger to the Church. The standard of the priesthood was lowered. Since the clergy, as such, were exempt from bearing arms, the king anxious to maintain the strength of his armies, forbade the ordination of freemen whether Franks or Gallo-Romans, save with his consent. This veto the Church was compelled to recognise by a formal

[1] Synod of Auvergne, 535, c. 2, 'Episcopatum ergo desiderans electione clericorum vel civium consensu etiam metropolitani ejusdem provinciae pontifex ordinetur' (Mansi, VIII. 860). C. of Paris 555 (?) c. 8, '(Nullus) principis imperio ... contra metropolitani voluntatem' (Mansi, IX. 746). C. of Orleans 549, c. 10, 'Cum voluntate Regis juxta electionem cleri ac plebis' (Mansi, IX. 131).

[2] e.g. Emerius. (Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. IV. 26, 'Decretum enim regis Chlotacharii habuerat, ut absque metropolitani consilio benediceretur qui non erat praesens.')

canon[1], thus narrowing down its recruiting-ground to the ranks of slaves. It is clear that this, while it did much to extend charity and break down slavery, could not fail to diminish the respect felt for the clergy and to lessen their influence.

Rivalries. Nor was any remedy to be found in concord in the Church. On the contrary, the jealousies which rankled in it were innumerable[2]. It was not only that Rome was looked at askance by many, and that the metropolitans struggled with one another for supremacy. The ambitious archbishops were not content with their position and rights. To consecrate the bishops of the towns within their province, to convoke the provincial synod and preside at its sessions, to receive any charges against bishops and lay them before the synod—all this was theirs already. To dispense with the synod, to decide themselves all charges against bishops, to depose them at their pleasure, to rule their provinces uncontrolled—this was their constant aim. But, supported by Rome, the bishops successfully resisted, though the struggles were fierce and incessant.

Archi-episcopal claims.

Bishops v. Priests. But the bishops had their own ambitions and anxieties. They had to prevent the priests in their sees from shaking off their dependence. In this also

[1] Council of Orleans, 511, c. 4, 'Nullus saecularium ad clericatus officium praesumatur, nisi aut cum regis jussione aut cum judicis voluntate.' (Mansi, VIII. p. 352.)

[2] As early as 401 the rivalry of Arles and Vienne necessitated the interference of a council. Council of Turin, Canon 2, 'Illud deinde inter episcopos urbium Arelatensis et Viennensis qui de primatus apud nos honore certabant, a sancto synodo definitum est, ut,' &c.

they succeeded—the flowing tide was with them. The increasing wealth of their benefices, the administration of which was solely in their hands, gave them a new source of power. Often strangers come from the Court, they had no bond of communion with the poor freedmen who were the priests of their purchased sees. The growing infrequency[1] of councils and synods practically freed them from control and left the priests with no appeal against their oppression. Yet they offered a sharp resistance and strained every nerve to carry their cause. Again and again the bishops assembled in councils denounced the 'conjurations' of the clergy against them, as they called the organised resistance to their encroachments which they encountered[2].

Private Chaplains.

Two recent institutions added to the chaos. One of these was the introduction of private chaplains. The kings, followed by their nobles, built their own oratories or chapels, and chose their own priests. The patron claimed full control of the services conducted in his chapel, asserting his chaplain's independence of any ecclesiastical authority[3]. And

[1] In the whole pontificate of Gregory (590–604), only six synods met in Gaul, and they were but local and poorly attended.

[2] Council of Orleans, 538, c. 21, 'Si quis clericorum ut nuper multis locis diabolo instigante actum fuisse perpatuit, rebelli auctoritate se in unum conjuratione intercedente collegerint et aut sacramenta inter se data,' &c. (Mansi, IX. 17). Narbonne, 589, c. 5, 'Conciliabula vel conjurationes non fiant clericorum,' &c. (Mansi, IX. 1015). Cf. Reims, 630, c. 2, 'De clericis si qui rebellionis caussa sacramentis se aut scripturae conjuratione constrinxerint atque insidias episcopo suo callida allegatione confecerint.' (Mansi, X. 594.)

[3] The rights of these chaplains with their limitations are laid down in Canons 25 and 26 of the Fourth Council of Orleans, 541. (Mansi, IX. 117, 118.)

though council after council throughout the sixth century declared these priests subject to the discipline of the bishop, even as late as 650 A.D., the Council of Châlons found it necessary to reassert this claim with threats of excommunication against offenders, by reason of the numerous complaints it received on this point.

Monasticism

The other institution of late growth which created new grounds of quarrel was monasticism. The monachism of the East, indeed, never gained a footing among the inhabitants of Gaul. The colder climate and the more practical and sociable western character rendered it impossible, and it was zealously warded off by the bishops. But the monasticism brought to the West by Athanasius and naturalised by Ambrose and Jerome was exactly suited to attract the more enthusiastic of western Christians. It was to avoid the temptations of the world, to seek congenial society, and to find mutual support in their religious life that men and women flocked to the monasteries[1]. If they devoted much of their time to worship and prayer, they gave much also to study and manual toil.

in Gaul.

Introduced into Gaul about the middle of the fourth century by S. Martinus of Turones, the monastic life at once attracted a multitude of votaries. When he died at the close of the century, two thousand monks and many nuns were amongst the crowds that followed his body to the grave. The following century saw the establishment of eighty

[1] Monastery was used originally to denote a House for either men or women.

new monasteries along the Rhône and Saône, and of twice that number in the rest of Gaul.

The invasion of the Franks brought new patrons of the system. Chlodwig and Childebert I. founded and endowed not a few houses, and their nobles vied with one another in their imitation of the royal example. Princesses were proud to be enrolled as nuns, and gladly gave their wealth to convents[1]. No district was neglected. In the densest forest, in the wildest desert rose the hymn and rang the axe of the monk. Armorica, still unconquered by the Frank, had its colony of monks from Britain. No sooner has the fame of the new rule of Benedict far away upon the Apennines[2] penetrated to the north of Gaul, than Innocent, bishop of Le Mans, sends to ask for its institution in his province[3]. Maur is sent, and, in the year of the death of his friend, founds at Glanfeuil the first Benedictine monastery in France. Thirty years later, Columban with his band of Irish monks is traversing Gaul. Welcomed by Gontran of Burgundy, he founds at Luxeuil, under the rule he himself had composed, the largest and most famous of the early monasteries.

Abuses resulting from it.

In this multiplicity of rules there had been confusion enough, but there were sources of mischief beyond this. The new institution brought with it

[1] e.g. Radegund (Greg. of Tours, de Gloria Confessorum, c. 106, Hist. Franc. IX. 2. 420). Chrodield and Basina (Hist. Franc. IX. 39—40. 463–469).

[2] Rule of Benedict established, 528.

[3] A.D. 542. Innocent erected 40 monasteries in his diocese in all. See Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedict., Vita S. Mauri, 26, &c. Vol. I. p. 282.

new abuses, rivalry between the leaders in the same monastery, jealousies between different houses, quarrels of princess-nuns that ended in war. Nor were these all the evils that sprang from the growth of monasticism. Technically laymen, the monks through their reputation for holiness soon acquired a semi-clerical authority. Hence the Church could not suffer them to pass beyond her control. The Council of Chalcedon decreed that monks and monasteries should be under the authority of the bishops[1]. The Gallic councils—in which the monks were not directly represented—passed a series of canons forbidding the foundation of monasteries in any diocese without the bishop's consent, requiring the abbot to meet his bishop at least once a year, and declaring it illegal for a monk to form a separate cell unless commissioned by the abbot or bishop[2]. Similar regulations were made for the conduct of nunneries[3].

Monks v. Bishops.

[1] Chalcedon, 451, c. 4 Hefele III. 389 (Eng. Trans.), *ἔδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου· τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.* Cf. also Canons 7, 16, 24.

[2] Fifth Council of Arles, 554, c. 2 (Mansi, IX. p. 702): 'Ut monasteria vel monachorum disciplina ad eum pertineant episcopum in cujus territorio constituta.' (Cf. Epaon, 517, c. 10. Mansi VIII. 560.) Second Council of Agde, 506, c. 38, forbids making separate cells (Mansi, VIII. p. 331. Cf. Orleans, 511, c. 22, p. 355); and founding new monasteries, 'nisi episcopo aut permittente aut probante' (c. 27, p. 329). First Council of Orleans, 511, c. 19 (Mansi, VIII. p. 354), 'Abbates in episcoporum potestate consistant; et si quid extra regulam fecerint ab episcopis corrigantur: qui semel in anno in loco ubi episcopus elegerit, accepta vocatione conveniant.'

[3] Fifth Council of Arles, c. 5, 'Ut episcopi de puellarum monasteriis quae in sua civitate constituta sunt curam gerant,' &c.

Such canons are clearly the birth of struggle. The abbots were little likely to tamely submit to the bishop, and monks would never without resistance have surrendered the liberties of laymen. Indeed the whole history of the early relations of monks and clergy is the story of a bitter contest[1]. Even when the bishops, to whom the decree of Chalcedon had given an advantage not easily to be impaired, were driven by the clamours of the monks and the influence of their patrons to make a show of granting them privileges, they attempted to nullify them by new claims. And though the kings themselves intervened in behalf of their own foundations, the bishops tried every means of still maintaining their usurped powers, without incurring the royal displeasure.

The Church of the Conquest.

Such then were some of the elements of confusion in the Church of Gaul after the Frankish Conquest. Struggles of bishop against archbishop, of priest against prelate, of monk against cleric, would have been disastrous at any time. But these struggles when the Church was passing through the crisis of the establishment of Feudalism, when its supreme lord was the chief of a half-civilised warrior-tribe, might seem to point to its speedy ruin. Little indeed had it save the truth

[1] Where a monastery was strong, the abbot compelled the bishops to retrench their demands. Thus the Third Council of Arles in 456 yielded the control of the monastery of Lirins to its abbot. 'Monasterii vero omnis laica multitudo ad curam abbatis pertineat: neque ex ea sibi episcopus quidquam vindicet.' (Mansi, VII. 908.) So the Council of Carthage, 524, refers to the practice of monasteries putting themselves under the control of the distant see of Carthage to escape the interference of their own bishop. (Mansi, VIII. 633.)

of its Gospel to support it. The higher clergy were scarcely to be distinguished from the counsellors and warriors with whom they mixed. The lower came mostly from the despised order of slaves. All alike were wanting in intellectual power, in uprightness, in piety. Many cared for nothing but the chase[1] and the carouse[2], and drunkenness was a vice amongst them, alas, too common.

The Christianity of the Franks.

Nor had the spirit of Christianity as yet firm hold upon the hearts and minds of the people. The first Catholic king accepted baptism because in a desperate peril the Christians' God seemed to him a mightier War-God than Woden or Thor. Nor did his conversion prevent his murdering his nephew and seizing his crown. Even in Neustria[3], where the Franks were under greater Christian influences than in Austrasia, a royal paramour could murder the queen, marry the king, and slay an aged bishop on the very altar of his church. Princesses who had devoted their lives to God hired bravoes to assault a council of bishops and dragged the whole nation into strife. Kings had their half-dozen wives and many concubines; while a dowager-queen would encourage their lust.

Baptized Heathenism.

Nor were these the privileged vices of the Court, where indeed Christianity found its most

[1] Council of Epaon, 517, c. 4 (Mansi VIII. p. 559), 'Episcopis, presbyteris, atque diaconis canes ad venandum et accipitres habere non licet.'

[2] Council of Agde, 506, c. 11 (Mansi VIII. p. 332), 'Ante omnia clericis vitetur ebrietas.'

[3] Cf. Greg. of Tours, IX. 39. 463—IX. 43, 476; X. 15 and 16, 502–510.

ready home. Elsewhere among the Franks, it was either mingled with the old paganism or boldly rejected. In Neustria, Jesus and Thor were worshipped side by side, and idols and images were cherished and defended from the attacks of the few enthusiastic priests. The worship of trees and of springs was continued even by nominal Christians[1]. Witchcraft and sorcery were held in honour. Bigamy and incestuous marriages were frequent.

In Austrasia, where communication with the barbarians of Germany was more constant, and where the invasion of the Huns had annihilated Gallo-Roman Christianity long before, some bands of Franks openly avowed their heathenism. In forays of ravage they rode forth to carry off the Christians of Burgundy and Auvergne and sell them as slaves. Here banquets in honour of the old heathen deities were held. Here even human sacrifices were not unknown.

If an ecclesiastic strove to stem the tide of vice,[2] it was but courting ruin. The steadfastness of a Nicetius and a Columban was rewarded with exile. Some of the best bishops, finding their endeavours to secure reform foiled at every point, laid down their croziers and turned as missionaries to the barbarians beyond the Rhine[3].

All might have seemed lost. A hundred years before the Franks had seemed the only light on the

[1] Cf. Council of Agde, 506. Mansi, VIII. 340.

[2] Nicetius refused the sacrament to king Chlotar who had been excommunicated. Greg. of Tours, Vitae Patrum, XVII. 2. 1236. Theodorich's licentiousness was reproved by Columban.

[3] Like Amandus, 647 A.D.

horizon amidst the darkness of heterodoxy and heathenism[1]. Now their orthodox Christianity seemed scarcely preferable to Paganism.

The saviours of Christianity.

And yet it was the Christianity of the Franks that has made Europe Christian. Not without reason did the East comprise all western Christians under their name. Already, in the sixth century, were they the arbiters of the West, and soon to be its masters. Nominally Christians, they knew little of religion. The work of making them Christians indeed, of destroying the vestiges of heathenism among them, of restoring the purity of the priesthood, was done by two powers—monasticism and the Papacy. If we leave out of view the divine spirit and life of Christianity, we may say that, but for monk and Pope, the religion of Jesus would have died out amongst the Franks, and that consequently Europe would have sunk back into heathenism.

While the monks laboriously and very slowly taught the people what religion means, while they gradually drew them from their vices and savagery, the Papacy revealed to the Frankish nation her place in Christendom and girded her for her work. Out of chaos it developed order, out of crude barbarism respect for sacred things, above the seat of earthly power it reared the throne of Christ. It is with the birth of its influence upon the Franks that we are

[1] Salvianus de Gubernatione Dei, IV. 'Duo enim genera in omni gente barbarorum sunt, id est aut haereticorum aut paganorum.' For the baptism of Chlodwig see Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. II. 31. 83.

concerned. But to enable us to realise what that influence had to effect, and to appreciate at its right value the first intercourse of Frankish king and Roman bishop, the preceding view of the state of the Church and society of Gaul in the sixth century was necessary. It will show us how true is the remark of Milman in which he emphasises the critical character of that age:—'It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the Middle Ages without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great'.[1]

The Popes and the Churches of Gaul.

Perhaps at this point it will be well to attempt to form an idea of the position secured by earlier Popes with regard to Gaul, in order that we may realise the starting-point of Gregory's influence upon that country. We have already seen that the Church of the Franks of the sixth century is but that of the old Gallo-Romans, in the crisis of the conquest and the development of feudalism, almost overborne, it is true, yet surviving. It has already been stated that this Church probably owed its foundation to Asia. But, as time passed on, this was forgotten. The Roman Church, proud of her home in the Imperial city, strong in the tradition of an Apostle-bishop, added to her other pretensions the assertion that she was the Mother of all the Churches of the West[2]. These, the Popes alleged, had all been

[1] Milman, Hist. of Latin Christianity, Bk. III. c. 7 (Vol. II. p. 102).

[2] Thus Innocent I. wrote, 'Praesertim cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam, atque Siciliam, et insulas interjacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias nisi eos quos

founded by delegates of S. Peter or of his successors in the bishopric of Rome. Since this claim met with no refutation, at the end of the sixth century Gregory[1] could call, without fear of dispute, the Gallic Church the daughter of that which he ruled.

The claims of the Roman Church.

But 'the Apostolic See' could not be content with filial respect. It demanded more than this, and eagerly seized every chance of increasing its power. The prestige of Rome as the Eternal City of Empire, her almost unbroken fidelity to the orthodox faith, her wealth, her position as the only Patriarchate[2] in the West, her missionary zeal, but above all her claim to be the Apostolic See of S. Peter's foundation gave her bishop a weight of influence far exceeding that of the other patriarchs everywhere, but especially in the West. Add to this that the presence of the Emperor made the Pope's only competitor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, a mere courtier, while his absence left the Bishop of Rome the man of most mark in Italy[3], and we have the sources of the Papal power.

The support of an influence so great was eagerly sought by the bishops of Gaul in their resistance to the encroachments of their metropolitans which we have described. To gain it they were not likely to

venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes.' Mansi, III. p. 1028.

[1] Greg. Epp. v. 53, 'Quid aliud quam bona soboles ad sinum matris recurrit?' &c.

[2] Originally the Patriarchate of Rome extended over only the provinces under the civil jurisdiction of the Vicarius Urbis, viz. Upper Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica.

[3] Thus Gregory appoints generals (Greg. Epp. II. 31), and makes peace (II. 46, v. 36).

count the recognition of the claims of Rome too high a price to pay.

Papal intervention in Gallic affairs.

The first successful interference of the Roman bishop in the affairs of Gaul seems to have been the convocation at the suggestion of Pope Sylvester in 314 of a synod at Arelate. Moreover his authority received a certain recognition from the bishops there assembled, for they thought it necessary or respectful to send him their decisions.

Sardica.

But it was the Council of Sardica[1] (343) which first formally announced the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the Churches of the West. Assembled in the very heat of the Arian controversy, the western bishops, eager defenders of orthodoxy against the heterodox Emperor and patriarchs of the East, conferred on Julius, bishop of Rome, unprecedented rights of appellate jurisdiction throughout the West. Though granted but temporarily, the Church of Rome claimed these rights as her inalienable possession, bestowed upon her by the Universal Church, even ascribing the decrees by which she had gained them to the Council of Nicæa. Armed with this authority, she asserted the extension of her patriarchate from the narrow limits of the suburban districts to the utmost bounds of Africa, Spain, and Gaul[2]. This spirit breathes in

The right of Appeal to Rome.

[1] Council of Sardica, c. 3 (Mansi, VI. 1142), c. 7 (p. 1144), &c.

[2] Thus in a Constitutio of Theodosius II. date 541, the Bp of Rome is termed ὁ (ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης) τῆς ἑσπερίας. Gregory claims to decide all cases in which a bishop is concerned who has no metropolitan or patriarch. E.g. Epp. XIII. 45, cap. 2, 'Si dictum fuerit quia nec Metropolitam habuit nec Patriarcham, dicendum

a letter of the date 404 A.D. from Pope Innocent I. to Victricius, bishop of Rotomagus[1]. While he forbids any question between ecclesiastics to be carried to any court but the provincial synod, he expressly excepts appeals to Rome, even in minor cases[2]. And all more important cases are to be referred to the Apostolic See 'as the council has decided and a holy custom demands[3].'

The next interference of the Bishop of Rome in the affairs of Gaul was not very effective, though the occasion is suggestive. When the horde of Huns swept over its frontier the prefect removed his head-quarters from Augusta Treverorum to Arelate. This created a source of constant dispute. Arelate had hitherto been a diocese under the metropolitan bishop of Vienna, but now the rule that the seat of Imperial government must also be the see of the archbishop of the province suddenly raised it to supremacy. But, always jealous of their neighbours, the bishops of the province were disinclined to acknowledge the authority of the new metropolis. Not only Vienna, but other Churches also resisted. Unable to crush their opposition, Patroclus, arch-

est A Sede Apostolica quae omnium Ecclesiarum caput est causa haec audienda et dirimenda est.'

[1] The authenticity of this letter has however been doubted, but without convincing reason. Innocent I. Ep. II. Migne, 20, p. 472.

[2] Cap. III. 'Secundum synodum Nicaenum congregatis ejusdem provinciae episcopis jurgium terminetur nec alicui liceat (sine praejudicio tamen Romanae ecclesiae cui in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri)...ad alias convolare provincias.'

[3] 'Si majores causae in medium fuerint devolutae, ad sedem apostolicam sicut synodus statuit et beata consuetudo exigit post judicium episcopale referantur.'

bishop of Arelate, appealed to Zosimus, bishop of the Apostolic See, to degrade one of his most recalcitrant bishops, Proculus of Massilia. This he consented to do. But Proculus boldly set his authority at nought, and held on his way[1]. A.D. 417.

A few years later, in 428, Celestine of Rome wrote to censure the priests of Gaul for abandoning the common tunica and toga, and assuming as a distinctive clerical garb the dress of the monks of the East.

But it is clear that while the clergy of Gaul were willing to invoke the authority of Rome in their quarrels, the Bishops of Rome did not yet consider that interference was a duty. As circumstances and their own natures prompted, they either interfered or not. Thus Boniface, when the clergy of Valentia appealed to him against their bishop, referred them to the provincial synod. But Leo the Great, always eager to extend the power of Rome, when a chance of success offered, boldly struck at the most powerful prelate of Gaul. His conflict with Hilarius of Arelate, the meeting of two ambitions in deadly strife, throws so strong a light upon the state of the Gallic Church and its relations with Rome, that we may be excused if we

Leo the Great.

[1] Zosimus, Ep. v. (Migne, tom. 20, p. 664). Zosimus appoints Patroclus his vicar, and gives him metropolitan rights over the provinces of Vienna, Narbonensis Prima, and Narbonensis Secunda, Ep. I. (Migne, 20.). He and his correspondents attribute Christianity in Gaul to the sending of Trophimus to that country by Peter and the Apostles. This legend, so useful for the support of the papal claims, seems to be due to the mission of a man of that name from Fabian, bp of Rome, to Arelate, 250 A.D.

give its story. Hilarius had arrogated to himself the primacy of Gaul. Not content with the control of the province of which he was metropolitan, he extended his visitations throughout the country, ordaining bishops in all parts. In one of these illegal visitations he deposed, on the ground of irregularity of life, Chelidonius, bishop of Vesontio, who at once appealed to Leo. He, recognising the importance of preventing the organisation of the Churches of Gaul under one primate, took up the case. Hilarius came to Rome to protest in person against any infringement of the ancient liberties of the Gallic Church[1], but Leo, deaf to such remonstrances, declared his sentence null, and summoned him to answer before himself the charge of wrongful deposition which the triumphant Chelidonius at once set up. Hilarius refused to recognise the authority of the Apostolic See over the Church of Gaul, reasserted his own rights, and then fled from Rome to avoid assassination. Upon this Leo wrote to the bishops of his province[2], declaring them free from subjection to Arelate, putting them under the metropolitan authority of Vienna, denouncing the conduct of Hilarius as sacrilegious opposition to S. Peter, and

No Pope for Gaul but the Pope.

[1] Vita Hilarii, xvii. (Migne, tom. 50), 'Se ad officia non ad causam venisse: protestandi ordine, non accusandi, quae sunt acta suggerere.'

[2] Leonis Opera (Migne, t. 54, p. 628), Epistola x. c. 7, 'Suis unaquaeque provincia sit contenta conciliis, nec ultra Hilarius audeat conventus indicere synodales et sacerdotum Domini judicia se interserendo turbare. Qui non tantum noverit se ab alieno jure depulsum sed etiam Viennensis provinciae quam male usurpaverat potestate privatum...Non ergo intersit ulli ordinationi.' Cf. Ep. lxvi.

forbidding him to travel beyond his province or assist at any ordination. It is uncertain[1] whether Hilarius ever yielded in any degree to this storm of opposition, but the most notable result of the conflict was a step which Leo prevailed upon the Emperor to take. This was the promulgation of the famous 'Constitution of Valentinian[2].' It denounced Hilarius, and proclaimed the consent of the Bishop of Rome necessary for any changes in the Church of Gaul, and his decrees binding. The responsibility of bringing any recalcitrant to the papal bar it laid upon the civil governor of the province.

The more vigorous successors of Leo, however, were compelled to turn their energies in another direction. To resist the encroachment of the Imperial power upon their rights gave them almost sufficient occupation and anxiety, without their attempting to carry out the ambitious designs of Leo upon the liberties of the Gallic Church. Moreover, the Frankish conquest deprived the decree of Valentinian of its practical sanction.

The Pallium.

Yet one custom dates from this period which

[1] Vita Hilarii, c. 17, says, 'In civitatem regressus, licet corporali infirmitate fractus, tamen...totum se ad placandum tunc animum sancti Leonis inclinata humilitate convertit.' This may well be doubted.

[2] In Leonis Opera (Migne, tom. 54, p. 636), Ep. XI., 'Hoc perenni sanctione censemus ne quid tam episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum contra consuetudinem veterem liceat sine viri venerabilis papae Urbis aeternae auctoritate tentare. Sed hoc illis omnibusque pro lege sit quidquid sanxit vel sanxerit apostolicae sedis auctoritas: ita ut quisquis episcoporum ad judicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per moderatorem ejusdem provinciae adesse cogatur.'

gave the Bishop of Rome another hold upon the prelates of the West. This was the granting by the occupant of the Apostolic See to leading bishops of the pallium, a white scarf with black spots, worn only on occasions of special ceremony. As its use was restricted to the very highest ranks of the bishops, and originally was the concomitant of metropolitan authority, it was eagerly sought after. As far as the West was concerned, the gift lay with the Bishop of Rome, though the consent of the Emperor was also required. Thus Rome became in a sense the fountain of honour in the Church, and it is clear how easy this custom made it for the Pope to secure the support of the most powerful prelate in a province, and to centre the hopes of the subordinate bishops in himself.

During the greater part of the sixth century the intercourse of the Apostolic See with the Churches of Gaul was chiefly confined to the granting of the pallium to the Archbishops of Arles[1]. But in 581 we find the first communication between the Bishop of Rome and the Frankish court. In that year the Pope, Pelagius II., induced the Franks to come to the aid of Italy against its Lombard invaders. So low had Rome fallen.

But in 590 was elected a Pope very different from the weaklings who so long had held the Bishopric of Rome, a Pope with the aims of Leo, possessed of boundless courage and untiring energy,

[1] Given 514 to Caesarius by Pope Symmachus, Vita S. Caesarii, I. 22 (Mabillon, Acta SS. I. p. 663); to Auxanius 545 (Migne, 69, p. 28) and Aurelianus (Migne, 69, p. 38) by Vigilius; to Sapaudus by Pelagius I. (Ep. XI. p. 405, Migne).

quick to observe and prompt to seize any opportunity of gaining his ends; a skilled diplomatist, a wise statesman, a born leader of men, a saintly Christian.

Gregory the Great. About 540 A.D.

Anicius Gregorius, as the scion of a wealthy senatorial family, had been carefully trained from his birth for a political career. While still young he attained the highest office in Rome open to a civilian, for in 574 he was made Præfectus Urbis. But the example of his mother, who on his father's death had entered a convent and by her sanctity gained the honour of canonisation, seems to have induced him, shortly after, to renounce politics, to change his palace into a monastery, and himself to become a monk. Such a man, however, could not be allowed to bury himself in such seclusion and waste his talents in a convent. On the first vacancy in the diaconate of Rome he was chosen by the Pope to fill it. Then an office which had frequently been the stepping-stone to the Papacy itself, an office requiring the utmost delicacy of tact and yet the stoutest firmness of purpose, was given to him. He was sent as the Pope's 'apocrisiarius' to the Imperial court. Here for six years he remained, receiving a training in diplomacy and gaining an insight into politics which must have contributed largely to his successful administration in after years. On his return he was appointed abbot of the monastery which he had founded, where his strict asceticism, his fame as a preacher, his talents, his position as one of the seven deacons, and the weakness of the Pope gained him

His earlier life.

Elected Pope.

an influence second to none in Rome. When, in February, 590, the plague carried off Pope Pelagius[1], there could be no two opinions as to the succession. Senate, clergy and people elected Gregory without a dissentient voice. It was in vain that he held back. For the letter which he sent to the Emperor begging him not to confirm the election, the prefect of the city substituted a statement of the unanimous desire of all classes. Though, during the interval before the Emperor's confirmation arrived, the exigencies of the time compelled Gregory to assume the guidance of the Church and the control of the city, yet, when it was received, his feeling of unfitness for the post drove him to flee from Rome. He was discovered, brought back, and ordained Bishop of Rome at the beginning of September, 590. This reluctance to assume his charge sprang from no cowardice or weakness[2]. Once in the chair of S. Peter, if he looked back with wistful glance upon the peace of his secluded years, if 'the care of all the Churches' came 'daily upon' him, he strove bravely to act up to his responsibilities. He had weighed them from the beginning, and Providence had laid their burden upon him. As the

[1] Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. x. 1.

[2] For his reluctance see Epp. I. 5, 'Alta enim quietis meae gaudia perdidi....Undique causarum fluctibus quatior ac tempestatibus deprimor.' I. 31, 'Sicut peccata mea merebantur non Romanorum sed Langobardorum episcopus factus sum. Gemo quotidie occupationibus pressus et respirare non valeo.' I. 43, 'Flens reminiscor quod perdidi meae placidum littus quietis.' VII. 4, 'Infirmitatis meae conscius secretiora loca petere aliquando decreveram.' Cf. I. 4, 6, 7, 30.

servant of the Lord, he could contemplate no 'gran rifiuto'[1] like a later pope.

His idea of his office was lofty. The four Patriarchal sees he accounted the joint foundation of the Church, and of these the first and highest was Rome. Over all for whom no other cared the Roman bishop must extend his care. He recognised the Emperor as his legal lord, yet could suffer no encroachments on the rights of the Churches. To hold the metropolitans in dependence on the Roman see, to restore the rights of the bishops, to crush heresy and schism, to revive the spiritual life of the Church, to make monasticism an effective instrument of good, to send the Gospel to the barbarous heathen, these were some of his aims, these were some of the duties, he conceived, of the successor of Peter. *His view of the Papacy.*

The Roman bishop who in that age of disintegration should attain these aims must needs be a man of vigour and power. It is true that the authority which his predecessors had really or nominally gained gave him a foundation on which to work. But in the midst of a crumbling civilisation, with an Emperor disposed to jealously crush any revival of the power of the Roman Patriarch, with a disorganised Church-system, Gregory must have felt that his influence must depend upon his own personality. Whatever he achieved he achieved in spite of circumstances. *His personal influence.*

Especially is this true of his relations with Gaul. Whether it be the results of his Papacy upon the

[1] Dante, Inferno, III. 59.

Church or the influence he exerted upon the Court at which we look, we find that both were due rather to the respect his character inspired and the energy he threw into all that he did than to the exercise of any questionable authority or the assertion of any claims.

His correspondence with Gaul.

The only method which it is possible for us to follow if we would understand the relations of this many-sided man with Gaul is to examine the whole of his correspondence with that country. In nearly every letter which he sent to personages dwelling in Gaul we shall find some point which we cannot afford to neglect if we would gain a comprehensive view of his activity and designs.

June, 591.

His first communication[1] with Gaul we trace in a letter in which, according to custom[2], the newly-elected Bishop of Rome announces his election to the Archbishop of Arles. This was Virgilius, originally a monk of Lerins, then abbot of the monastery at Autun until 588, when he was raised to his present dignity. But with the formal announcement Gregory joined his remonstrance against an all too-prevalent evil.

Gregory and the Jews.

The zeal of the Christian Franks for their new faith had often shown itself in the violence they exhibited to its opponents. For the conversion of unbelievers, especially of the Jews, rough means

[1] Greg. Ep. I. 47.

[2] So Gelasius I. (Migne, tom. 59), Ep. I. ad Euphemianum (patriarch of Constantinople), 'Apostolicam sedem institutum sibi noviter sacerdotem praeeuntibus oportuisse dixisti litteris indicare. Fuit quondam ecclesiastica vetus haec regula apud patres nostros' (misquoted by Lau).

had been used, even with royal sanction[1]. Soon after the accession of Gregory to the throne of Peter complaints had been lodged with him by some Roman merchants of the Jewish persuasion that their co-religionists in Marseilles were subjected to this treatment, and his intervention had been sought. Accordingly he seizes this occasion of his writing to Virgilius of Arles to interpose. His letter is an illustration of the fine diplomatic tact which we shall be forced so often to admire in his conduct. The delicate compliment he pays to Virgilius in insinuating that the persecution in Marseilles is not beyond his province, the artfulness of joining the Bishop of Marseilles with the Archbishop of Arles as one to whom his election should be announced, smooth the difficulty of his task of remonstrance. He praises the ardour of the bishop, Theodore[2], yet urges that preaching, not persecution[3], should be employed to win the unbelieving.

Nor must we lose sight of these two facts, that the Jews appealed against a Bishop of Marseilles to one whom they understood to be his superior, the Bishop of Rome, but that Gregory's reproof is couched in words not of authority but of brotherly counsel.

[1] Cf. Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. vi. 17. 292, 'Rex vero Chilpericus multos Judaeorum eo anno (582) baptizari praecepit. Nonnulli tamen eorum corpore tantum, non corde abluti, &c.'

[2] Cf. Joh. Diacon. iv. 42, 'Judaeorum perfidiam rationibus magis quam violentiis excutere Gregorius decertabat.'

[3] For Theodore cf. Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. vi. 11. 286; viii. 12. 384; ix. 22. 447. He was bishop from 580 to 591, and incurred the displeasure of the king, Gontran, and his townsmen.

No record of communication between Gregory and Gaul during the next two years has reached us, but in 593 the silence is broken. Of that date we possess a letter[1] of the Pope to Dynamius, who held the office of Præfectus Galliarum, or Frankish governor of the province of Arles. At the request of the Bishop of Rome he had also acted as 'rector' of an estate at Marseilles which formed part of the so-called patrimony of S. Peter. This patrimony consisted of lands acquired by the Roman see to establish a revenue by which its multitudes of poor might be supported. Even the smallest details of the administration of other portions of it did not escape the vigilance of Gregory[2], and we may well believe that from the very first he interested himself in the working of the patrimony at Marseilles. But the first letter we have bearing upon the subject is this to Dynamius, in which he acknowledges the receipt of 400 Gallic solidi, the rent collected and forwarded by the 'rector.' In recognition of his faithfulness and care Gregory sends him a cross, studded with relics of S. Peter's chains, and set in portions of the gridiron of S. Lawrence.

Gregory and the estates of the Roman Church.

Before we pass on to Gregory's next letter to Gaul it will be necessary for us to glance at the political state of that country[3]. Without tracing the course of the struggles concerning the succes-

The political state of Gaul.

[1] III. 33, dated April.

[2] 'Gregory I. was the reorganiser of the patrimonies of the Church of Rome,' Wisbaum. Cf. I. 44, detailed instructions on the management of the Sicilian estate. Other estates were in Etruria, Campania, Corsica, Dalmatia and Africa.

[3] See Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. passim.

sion from the time of Chlodwig, it may suffice to state that in 575 Gaul comprised three kingdoms[1]. Austrasia on the Rhine, Neustria in the North and West, and Burgundy between the Rhine and the Mediterranean, under the rule of three grandsons of Chlodwig, Siegbert, Chilperich and Gontran respectively. The first two had married two sisters, Brunhild and Galsuinth, daughters of Athanagild, the Visigoth king of Spain[2]. But Chilperich murders Galsuinth and makes Fredegond, his paramour, who had instigated the crime, his queen in her stead. Brunhild eagerly seeks vengeance and stirs her husband Siegbert to attack his brother. Chilperich is utterly defeated and almost driven from his kingdom when Fredegond procures the assassination of Siegbert. His young son Childebert, whose death also was intended, is rescued and recognised as king by many of the Austrasian nobles. Chilperich, however, succeeds in seizing the treasures and most of the kingdom of Siegbert, and banishes Brunhild. Hereupon Gontran espouses the cause of Childebert, adopts him as his son, and, by rousing the warriors of Austrasia against Chilperich, compels him to make terms by also adopting Childebert.

In 584 Brunhild attained part of her vengeance by the assassination of Chilperich. On this Fredegond fled to Gontran with her infant son. He extended his protection to her, and took under his

[1] It is quite impossible to accurately define the limits of these kingdoms. Their boundaries were continually shifting, and the relations of Western France, south of the Loire, and the coast of the Mediterranean to the three Courts have never been fully realised.

[2] Cf. Fortunatus, VI. 7.

control, as regent for the boy-king Chlotar, Neustria and that part of Austrasia which Chilperich had conquered—thus gaining the enmity of Childebert. His severity produced an insurrection which compelled him to seek the alliance of that king by uniting Austrasia under him and naming him sole heir to Burgundy.

Thus when Gregory became bishop of Rome, Childebert was king of Austrasia and heir to Burgundy; Gontran his uncle was king of Burgundy and regent of Neustria in the name of Chlotar, the son of his brother Chilperich. Brunhild was all-powerful at the court of her son Childebert, while Fredegond with her son Chlotar remained under the care of Gontran.

But, in 593, Gontran died, and was succeeded by Childebert, who thus combined in one kingdom Austrasia and Burgundy. One of his first acts was to remove Dynamius from his patriciate. In the struggles arising out of the protection afforded to Fredegond in Burgundy, Dynamius had abandoned the cause of Brunhild and her son for that of Gontran[1]. His office was too important to be entrusted to one on whom the new king could not absolutely rely, and coveted by too many not to be bestowed as a reward on one of his friends.

It therefore became necessary that another 'rector' of the patrimony of S. Peter should be appointed, and Gregory seems to have found no diffi-

[1] Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. vi. 11. 288. 'At Dynamius immemor fidei quam Childeberto regi promiserat, ad Guntramnum regem nuntios dirigit,' &c.

culty in obtaining the consent of Arigius[1], the new patrician, to act in that capacity until one could be sent from Rome. In 594 accordingly he wrote[2] to the tenants[3] on the estate, announcing that he had determined to send them a rector from Rome, and bidding them meanwhile diligently obey Arigius as became the servants of S. Peter. Let them hand over their rents to a body whom they should elect themselves, who should retain them till the new rector should arrive. They would select for this trust, he was sure, only men on whose honesty he could rely.

In the same year must be placed a visit paid to Rome by Gregory, bishop of Tours, the historian of the first century of Frankish rule in Gaul[4]. The fame of the Pope had reached him in his distant see. When brought face to face with him he could not refrain from expressing his surprise that one of so grand an intellect and character should be so small in stature. His admiration was rewarded by the gift of a golden cathedra for the bishopric of Tours. 594—595. *The two Gregories.*

With his accession to the Burgundian throne, Childebert had become feudal lord of the southern bishoprics. He had apparently urged Virgilius,

[1] To this Arigius VI. 57 and IX. 118 are addressed.

[2] V. 31.

[3] The conductores to whom this epistle is addressed were not really the tenants, who were called coloni, but a kind of agents or over-tenants.

[4] See Life of Greg. of Tours, prefixed to his works. (Migne, tom. 71, p. 126.) S. Gregorii Magni Vita (ex eius scriptis adornata), III. 3. 7 and 8. In praise of him, Fortunatus, V. 3.

archbishop of Arles, to apply to Gregory for the pallium and the vicariate of Rome among the Churches of Gaul. This Virgilius had done and the king had joined in the request, which Gregory was glad to grant. To have been first addressed by the king, and to have laid him under an obligation, had given him an opening such as he might long have sought in vain. The application of Virgilius too would seem to Gregory a voluntary submission of the first prelate in Gaul, promising well for his influence over all the bishops and Churches, and for the success of his attempts to purify the religious life of the nation.

Gregory's Vicar in Gaul.

A.D. 595. *August.*

Accordingly he announces[1] to Virgilius his consent on the ground of old custom[2]. He urges him to exert his own utmost power, and also to stir up the zeal of the king, for the eradication of simony and of the ordination of laymen as bishops, which he had learnt to be general in the Frankish kingdoms. The letter concludes with a description of the privileges thus conferred upon him. He is to be the representative of the Bishop of Rome to all Churches within the kingdom of Childebert. The pallium he may now wear—but only at the celebration of mass. No bishop was to leave his diocese without his consent. To decide questions of faith and disputes between bishops he must convoke a court of twelve bishops. In any case which they could not decide they were to ascertain the facts

[1] v. 53.

[2] Cf. xi. 64. 'Ab antiquis praedecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis Episcopus accepit.' See supra, p. 26, n.

and refer the decision upon them to the Bishop of Rome.

At the same time Gregory wrote to the bishops of Childebert's kingdom[1]. He reminds them that, if there is to be general harmony in any system, differences of rank are necessary. Even among the angelic hosts of heaven there are archangels. Therefore, to secure the integrity of the Catholic faith, and for the settlement of disputes between brother-priests among them, he had made Virgilius his vicar, and would have them obey him. Yet no important decision could be arrived at by Virgilius alone. A competent number of bishops is to be called in to decide difficult cases, while the Apostolic See must be appealed to in regard to matters involving much doubt or of very great importance. He urges them to attend the synods, or, if unable to do so, to send a representative. For absence cannot excuse a prelate from the duty of carrying out their decrees. Without the consent of Virgilius they must undertake no long journey. He concludes by exhorting them to solicitude about their charge and announcing that he has bidden Virgilius extirpate simony.

Accompanying these epistles he sent one to Childebert himself[2], in which he thankfully acknowledges the interest in the priesthood and the devotion to Christianity of which his letter had given proof, and announces his compliance with his request. He takes the opportunity of beseeching him to lend his aid in the correction of various

Abuses in the Church.

[1] v. 54. [2] v. 55.

abuses in the Churches of Gaul, lest the faults of others should injure his kingdom or his soul.

Lay Bishops. The first of these is that 'laymen receive the tonsure and mount to the bishopric at one headlong leap.' How[1], asks Gregory, can one who has never been a scholar be a competent teacher? 'How can he intercede for the sins of others who has not first bewept his own?' Such a bishop is not a shepherd, but a robber. The king would never appoint a general whose valour and industry and patience had not been tried. So 'it is disgraceful that men who know nothing of even the elements of Christian soldiery should seize upon the command.'

Simony. Another of these abuses was 'the heresy of simony,' that 'the holy orders are granted for money'.[2] Let his excellency stamp out this detestable crime. Every man that buys these sacred offices is, he pronounces, ipso facto convicted of unfitness for them.

Finally, he begs the king to give all possible help to Virgilius in the discharge of his new duties.

Sept. 595. It was apparently in the following month that Gregory sent Candidus, a trusty servant from the company of priests he was training at Rome, to assume the office of Rector of the estate of S. Peter at Marseilles. This was in accordance with the

The eyes of the Papacy.

[1] It seemed well to attempt to show the kind of arguments that Gregory directed against these abuses. They have been given here in connexion with the first letter in which they are used. They often recur.

[2] Greg. attacks this evil everywhere, e.g. in Illyricum, II. 23; in Epirus, VI. 8; in Corinth, V. 57 and 58; in Africa, III. 48 and 49; at Alexandria, XIII. 41; at Antioch, IX. 49; at Jerusalem, XI. 46.

policy which he had long adopted elsewhere[1]. His predecessors had been content to leave the control of these estates to the bishop of the diocese or some noble of the vicinity. But Gregory had seen how useful it would be to have in different regions these servants responsible to himself alone, gathering information and keeping watch for him upon the conduct of the bishops. One of his biographers[2] speaks of him in respect to this as 'an Argus with a hundred eyes casting his glances over the length and breadth of the whole world.' He even gave these rectors commission to hear charges preferred against bishops[3].

Gregory and the Frankish Court.

His new relations with the Frankish Court opened out to Gregory a field in which much might be done for the Apostolic See and for Christianity. This connexion therefore he zealously cultivated. He accordingly seizes the opportunity of the departure of Candidus to improve his standing with Childebert and to address the all-powerful queen-mother, Brunhild[4].

[1] Cf. IX. 65. 'Cavendum est...ne saecularibus viris atque non sub regula vestra degentibus res ecclesiasticae committantur sed probatis de vestro officio clericis.' Joh. Diac. II. 15. 'Nemo laicorum quodlibet...ecclesiasticum patrimonium procurabat sed omnia ecclesiastici juris munia ecclesiastici viri subibant.'

[2] Joh. Diac. II. 55. 'Per procuratores ecclesiasticorum patrimoniorum velut Argus quidam luminosissimus per totius mundi latitudinem suae pastoralis sollicitudinis oculos circumtulerit.' Cf. Epp. I. 24, 39, 67, &c.

[3] XI. 37. 'Si quis vero clericus vel laicus contra episcopum causam habuerit, tunc te interponere debes ut inter eos aut ipse cognoscas aut certe te admonente sibi judices eligant.'

[4] The influence he had exerted through the Lombard queen

Brunhild. And this brings us to deal with one of the points at which Gregory's fair fame is most open to attack. It is true that attempts have been made to whitewash the character of Brunhild. It is true that the contemporary Christian poet of Western Gaul, Fortunatus, praises her as modest, kind, talented, and pleasing to God:[1] but 'facts are stubborn things', and facts condemn her. The history of Gregory of Tours[2] depicts her as a designing and unscrupulous woman, passionate, treacherous, revengeful and cruel. Fredegar, who continued his history, calls her 'a second Jezebel',[3] and accuses her of adultery. Her insatiable desire for vengeance on Fredegond filled the land of the Franks with devastation and carnage. Her mad ambition again and again roused the hostility of her subjects. Noble after noble was swept from her path by murder. Her brother-in-law was assassinated by her minions; her very grandson executed at her command[4]. To retain

Theodelinda no doubt gave him hopes of bringing about reform through Brunhild.

[1] Fortunatus, VI. 2, praises her beauty; VI. 3, he speaks of her thus:

'Pulchra, modesta, decens, solers, grata atque benigna
Ingenio vultu nobilitate potens:
Sed quamvis tantum meruisset sola decorem
Ante tamen homini, nunc* placet ecce Deo.'

(*by conversion to orthodoxy.)

[2] Greg. of Tours, Historia Francorum, passim.

[3] Fredegar Chronicum (Migne, tom. 71), XXXVI. 612. 'Secunda ut erat Jezabelis.' XXIV. 605. 'Brunichildis stupri gratia eum (Protadium) vellet honoribus exaltare.'

[4] Fredegar, XLII. 622. 'Decem reges Francorum per ipsam interfecti.'

her influence she led his brother into licentious sloth and vice. Nothing was so sacred as to be secure from her attack, no one so holy as to awe her violence. Not groundless was the unutterable hatred of every class in all three kingdoms that gloated over the horrible tortures of her death.

Gregory's flattery of her.

And yet this is the woman addressed by Gregory in terms of the highest admiration. He praises her 'illustrious goodness so pleasing to God,' shown alike by her 'prudent care' in the government of the kingdom and 'the admirable training' in the true faith which she had given her son. He never wearies of expressing his admiration for 'the Christian devotion'[1] and 'scrupulous sincerity'[2] of her character; for her reverence for the priesthood[3] and her zeal in the propagation of the faith[4]; for the virtue, wisdom and justice of her government[5]; for 'the uprightness of her heart'.[6]

His one failing.

What are we to say with regard to this flattery of perhaps the worst queen that ever lived? Side by side with it we must set also Gregory's adulation of the Emperor Maurice during his life and his exultation over his death, with his congratulation[7] of the vulgar rebel Phocas, a 'Zimri who slew his master.' Perhaps the burden may be somewhat lightened by remembering that many of Brunhild's

[1] VI. 59. [2] VI. 50. [3] IX. 11. [4] XI. 62.

[5] IX. 117. As a Spanish princess she had entered somewhat into the spirit of Roman civilisation, and as ruler of Gaul executed some works of engineering for the benefit of the country. See Guizot, Hist. of France, I. 166. Trans. by Black.

[6] VI. 50. [7] XI. 38.

most atrocious crimes were still to be committed when Gregory first addressed her. Yet even then he cannot fail to have known much of her ferocity and maladministration, and must speedily have learnt more. He claims in his first letter to speak not without knowledge; ignorance therefore cannot be made his excuse. Nor is it sufficient justification to say, as has been said, that these praises of Gregory are bestowed upon her only as regarded from the point of view of ecclesiasticism. We have seen that this is not so. He praises her domestic qualities, her administration of the kingdom, her Christian example as well as her zeal for the carrying out of his Church-policy. And even if it were true, to employ such language to a woman so steeped in crime, however useful an instrument she might be in the execution of the best possible designs, ill became a Christian prelate, much less one who laid such stress upon spirituality and purity of life.

We cannot blind our eyes then to the fact that this was unworthy of Gregory, yet perhaps not altogether unnatural. He had been trained for a life of politics. After he had become a monk, he had been sent as papal ambassador to Constantinople. In that atmosphere of intrigue he was compelled to practise all the arts of a diplomatist. As Bishop of Rome he found it necessary to be 'a man of the world'. State-craft may result in craft; diplomacy may lead to double-dealing. We have remarked already the skilful tact with which Gregory could rebuke abuses, judiciously commingling commendation with reproof, praise with exhortation. Herein

lay his danger—in a prudence that avoided, at all costs, offending the powerful, in a desire by all means to gain the support of those who were able to give effect to his designs.

Thus when his growing acquaintance with the evil state of the Gallic Churches showed him the need of bringing every possible influence to bear upon it, if it were to be remedied, he determined to appeal for help to Brunhild as well as to Childebert. He felt that her good-will must be purchased at any price; his diplomatic habits prevailed over his sincerity, and these unworthy flatteries were the result.

By Candidus, then, he sent two letters[1], one addressed to the queen-mother, the other to the king. To the care of both he commends Candidus and the patrimony of which he was to be 'rector', begging that for any injury already done to it or any theft of its property already committed, punishment may be inflicted and reparation exacted. To the king he sends an amulet to protect him from all ills,—a model of S. Peter's keys made from S. Peter's chains. *Sept.* 595.

Nevertheless in the course of the next year Childebert died, leaving Austrasia to his elder son Theodebert and Burgundy to his younger, Theodorich. Two dukes, Wentrio and Warnachar, were appointed regents to the young kings, but Brunhild retained her power. Fredegond thinking it an opportunity not to be lost invaded Austrasia and claimed it for her son Chlotar. But that dark designing life came to an end the next year, and the young Chlotar deprived of the assistance of his mother's intrigues 596. 597.

[1] VI. 5; VI. 6.

was driven by the combined forces of the regents back into his own kingdom of Neustria.

596—597. Meanwhile Gregory was renewing his communications with all parts of Gaul and preparing to send at last his long-contemplated mission to England.

Gregory's use of Relics. To all his other advantages the Bishop of Rome added this, that he was the largest possessor of relics of the saints. Already we have found Gregory sending relics to Dynamius and Childebert to mark his gratitude or win their favour. And now once more he uses this means of gaining influence in Gaul. A presbyter of the diocese of Saintes, Leuparich by name, came to Rome, reporting that his bishop Palladius[1], who had already built one magnificent church, could not complete the consecration of another for want of relics of Peter, Paul, Lawrence and Pancratius. On his journey to Rome he had visited the court of Brunhild, who had also sent by him letters to Gregory begging for relics to give to churches. A request so easy to grant, compliance with which might gain him additional influence, was

July, 596. not to be refused. Leuparich was sent back with relics and letters to the bishop[2] and the queen[3]. Gregory pays his usual compliments to the latter, and exhorts her to see that the priests whose duty it will be to take charge of the relics are freed from all trouble and disquietude.

This journey of Leuparich, taken in connexion

[1] Palladius is mentioned by Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. VII. 31. 356; VIII. 2. 377; VIII. 7. 380; VIII. 43. 414, and praised by Fortunatus for building the Church of S. Stephen, Fortun. I. 3. 11. 'Haec sacra Palladius Levitae templa locavit.'

[2] VI. 49. [3] VI. 50.

with the visit of Gregory of Tours to Rome, serves to show us that, even in the first half of Gregory's rule, his relations with Gaul were not confined, as we might perhaps have otherwise inferred, to the South-east and to the Burgundian Court, but that the ecclesiastics of Neustria at any rate looked upon him as their superior, and accorded to him the respect due to their Patriarch.

The Mission to England.

It is unnecessary here to repeat the familiar story of the circumstances that awakened the interest of Gregory in England. That interest never diminished. Forbidden by Pelagius to go thither himself, then tied to Rome by his election to its bishopric, his heart ever went out towards the Angles of Aelle's realm. In 595 he gave special instructions to Candidus[1] to expend the rent of the patrimony of S. Peter on young English slaves, to be sent to Rome to be trained for God in monasteries, provision being made for the baptism of any who should die on the road.

But now he was able to act on a larger scale. He selected thirty monks, appointed Augustine their abbot, and sent them by way of Gaul to England. By the hand of Augustine he addresses letters of introduction to the bishops of the cities through which they must pass[2], commending to them not only the monks but also Candidus.

[1] VI. 7. Sept. 595.

[2] VI. 52, 53, 54, 55. 'Virgilio Arelatensi. Protasio episcopo de Aquis Galliae. Pelagio de Turinis, Sereno de Massilia, Desiderio Viennensi, Syagrio Augustodunensi. Bede I. 24 gives the same letter addressed to 'Aetherius, bishop of Arles,' perhaps a mistake for Lyons.

From one of these letters[1], that to Protasius, bishop of Aix, we learn how far he trusted his representatives, and also somewhat of the character of the leading prelates of Gaul. Sapaudus, the predecessor of Virgilius, was currently reported to have abused his trust as rector of the estate of the Roman Church at Marseilles, and to have embezzled 'the money of the poor.' Gregory demands of Virgilius that he should procure the restitution of the purloined sums. To Protasius he writes, 'If Virgilius attempt in any way to excuse himself, do you, who know accurately the details as having been at that time Vice-Chancellor in the Church, publish the whole story, and, to prevent his keeping the money of S. Peter and the poor, harass and threaten him.' This from the Bishop of Rome, of a brother-bishop whom not long before he had appointed his vicar, after a eulogy on his charity!

An embezzling archbishop.

Finding that even before they could reach England they were confronted with a land overrun with war, the monks of the mission lost heart, and Augustine was compelled to return from Aix to Rome. By him, Stephen, the abbot of the monastery at Lerins, sent a present of dishes and spoons to the poor of the Roman Church. Augustine soon returned, bringing Stephen a letter of thanks[2] from Gregory, applauding the vigilance with which he governed the monastery and the harmony which resulted therefrom[3]. With him he also brought a

Paving the way of the Mission.

[1] VI. 55.

[2] VI. 56. July, 596.

[3] Yet XI. 12, writing to his successor Conon, Gregory says, 'Nos audita decessoris tui incauta remissio saepius contristavit.'

letter to the patrician Arigius[1], thanking him for his kindness to the monks of the Mission, entreating his continued assistance and sympathy, and cordially commending Candidus to his protection. Gregory also bespoke for his Mission and for Candidus the assistance and protection of Theodorich and Theodebert[2], the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia[3], and of their mother Brunhild. An instance of the delicate compliments by which he conciliated the great may be seen in his description of the English in his letter to the kings as 'your subjects.'

This time the missionaries persevered. The recommendation of Gregory won for them the sympathy and help of all to whom he wrote, whilst protection and substantial aid were also extended to them by Chlotar, king of Neustria[4], to whom Gregory seems not to have written, perhaps fearing lest he should excite the jealous anger of that monarch's enemy, Brunhild.

Gregory and the Monks.

The same year marked the opening of what is perhaps the most important chapter in the relations of Gregory with Gaul—the exemptions he granted to monasteries. We saw in our glance at the state of the Gallic Church that one of the most fruitful sources of confusion in it was the conflict between the bishops and the monks. Though Bishop of Rome, all Gregory's sympathies were with the latter. The days he had passed in his own monastery seemed to him the happiest of his life. As abbot perhaps, moreover, he had felt the inconvenience of

[1] VI. 57. [2] VI. 58. [3] VI. 59.
[4] Cf. XI. 61.

being subject to the visitation of the bishop, and had longed to preserve the seclusion and peace he loved so well, unbroken by these irruptions from the busy world. Councils had decreed that monks should be under the authority of the bishops, but Gregory, conscious of his own strength and of that of monasticism, sweeps aside these resolutions of episcopal assemblies, and proclaims the independence of the monk. Earlier Popes, it is true, had not failed to see that to support the monasteries against the bishops must increase their own influence, but Gregory, the first monk who presided over the Apostolic See, was the first to grant exemptions widely, and make this his settled policy[1].

Oct. 596. The first exemption ever thus granted in Gaul, Gregory proclaimed in the case of a convent dedicated by Dynamius and a lady, Aureliana, probably his sister[2], to S. Cassian. In a letter to its abbess[3], Respecta, he grants the following privileges to her house for ever:—

The rights of a Convent. (1) 'On the death of an abbess of the aforesaid monastery, a new abbess shall be ordained, not a stranger, but she whom the nuns shall select from their own body. The bishop of the diocese shall ordain her, if she be judged fit for this service'.

(2) 'We decree that in regard to the property and administration of the same monastery, neither

[1] Cf. VIII. 15 and VIII. 34, which contain the grant of privileges to monasteries at Ravenna and Castellae respectively. But the first exemptions he granted were to a monastery at Ariminum, see II. 41 and 42.

[2] His wife, with whom he was buried, was called Eucheria.

[3] VII. 12.

the bishop nor any ecclesiastic shall have any authority, but we command that these shall belong to the anxious care of the abbess or her successors.'

(3) 'On the birthday of S. Cassian and the day of the dedication of the said monastery, the bishop shall visit it to celebrate a solemn mass. This duty nevertheless must be discharged without his setting up his throne there, except on the specified days during the celebration of mass. When he departs, his throne must also be removed from the chapel. On other days a presbyter deputed by the bishop shall perform the office of the celebration.'

The old canonical disciplinary power of the bishop Gregory leaves undiminished. But the episcopal claim to control the administration of the property of monasteries and to superintend their worship received by this letter a sharp check. Besides, it was the first interference of the Bishop of Rome in the conflict between the monks and the bishops of Gaul, and what might follow who could tell? It was a sign of the times, an indication that Gregory's attention was being drawn towards Gaul, and that he felt himself strong enough now to interfere in its affairs. His relations with the Court and the prestige which the mission to England had brought him had given him new power and boldness.

Three letters of the next few months were sent to correspondents in Gaul. Though the first two mark no development in his relations with that country, they serve to show his watchful care and broad charity, the influence for good which he exerted upon individuals even so distant from Rome,

Two personal Letters.

and the manner in which he was regarded even by inhabitants of Gaul as redresser of wrongs and defender and champion of all Christians of the West.

A certain Dominicus had informed him that five of his brothers who had fallen into captivity had been bought by some Jews of Narbonne and were being kept by them as slaves. Gregory, who held that no Jew should be allowed to have a Christian *May*, 597. slave, accordingly sent word by him to Candidus to ascertain if the facts were as stated, and if so, to pay their ransoms if they were unable to do so themselves[1].

Aug. 597. The second letter[2] was addressed to Dynamius and Aurelia, who had written to ask him to send them a manuscript. Unable to comply with their request at once, he promises to do so shortly, and exhorts them to give themselves to prayer, to reading of the Scriptures, and to good works.

The other letter[3] sent by Gregory to Gaul in this year was written in answer to a request addressed to him from the Frankish Court for the bestowal of the pallium upon one of its bishops. We have noticed the causes which tended to make the prelates amongst the most trusted councillors of the Franks[4].

A Courtier bishop.

In the interval between 595 and 597, Syagrius, bishop of Autun, had apparently thus advanced to the front rank, and especially had gained the favour

[1] VII. 24. [2] VII. 36.

[3] IX. 11. This letter belongs to Sept. 597, and should stand fourth in Bk. VIII.

[4] In Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc. x. 28. 521, Aetherius of Lyons and Syagrius of Autun are mentioned as trusted servants of king Gontran.

of Brunhild. She now sent to ask Gregory to bestow the pallium upon this cherished bishop. His answer 597. commences with the customary adulation. Then he gives the reasons for his delay in acceding to her request. Syagrius is entangled in heresy[1]. Before the pallium can be conferred, the consent of the Emperor must be obtained[2]. Nor is it the custom to grant it to any ecclesiastic who does not himself urgently demand it. Let Syagrius therefore with other bishops prefer the request, and Gregory will commission Candidus to bestow it upon him with fitting ceremony. The good report of Syagrius which had reached Gregory, not only from Brunhild but also from his regionary John, who had recently visited Gaul[3], and the kindness that bishop had shown to Augustine and his companions make Gregory, he professes, eager to comply with this desire.

The abuses of the Frankish Church had scarcely diminished since Gregory first was brought into

[1] That of the Three Chapters.

[2] So in 543 Vigilius deferred giving it to Auxanius of Arles till he had the Emperor's consent, and grants it later when he has that consent. See Migne, LXIX. p. 27. 'Libenti hoc animo etiam in praesenti facere sine dilatione potuimus, nisi cum Christianissimi domini filii nostri imperatoris hoc, sicut ratio postulat, voluissemus perficere notitia.' In the next letter, p. 28, he writes, 'Clementissimos principes Justinianum et Theodoram...qui pro his vestrae charitati mandandis...pia praebuerunt devotione consensum.'

[3] The Regionarii were the seven deacons of Rome. Each had under his charge all the diaconates in an assigned region. That one of them should hold a visitation of the diaconates of Gaul was unprecedented, and is an indication that under Gregory the Roman Church was extending its claims.

Abuses. communication with it. He therefore endeavours to enlist Brunhild's more energetic help in his attempts to put an end to them. He entreats her to forbid the consecration of laymen as bishops, and the bestowal of the episcopal office upon any for money, or through patronage, or merely by hereditary succession.

Heresy. The schism of the Three Chapters[1], which flourished in Gaul, he would have her do all in her power to uproot. Its adherents professed it, he asserts, only to escape discipline, without any comprehension of the dispute from which it arose. Let Brunhild therefore strive to unite all the Christians under her authority in the faith held by the Universal Church and the Four Patriarchs.

Idolatry. Another great evil he urges her to put down 'by the restraint of discipline.' This was the continued idolatry and tree-worship[2] of many professed Christians. Their animal sacrifices and adoration of demons it should be her care to suppress. And if she would

[1] This schism originated thus: To conciliate the Monophysites the Emperor Justinian was prevailed upon to issue an edict condemning the Nestorianism still in the Church, 544. The test was thus applied. 'Three chapters,' as they were called, were selected for denunciation, (1) the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, (2) those of Theodoret in defence of Nestorius, (3) a letter of Ibas. Now Theodoret and Ibas had been expressly pronounced orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon. The Western Churches long resisted the condemnation of the Three Chapters; and even after the Roman and African Churches had accepted the canon of the Second Council of Constantinople confirming it, the Churches of Northern Italy and Gaul held out. But during Gregory's pontificate the schism vanished.

[2] Cf. Council of Tours, II. c. 22. 'Fontes vel arbores quos sacrivos vocant succidite.'

appease God's anger with the sins of her people, let her hasten to punish violence, adultery, theft, and depravity of any kind.

A year before, Brunhild, hearing that Palladius was asking Gregory to send him some relics, had asked the same for herself. Apparently the same feminine characteristic which prompted that request had prompted her now to beg for a manuscript when she found that Dynamius had received one. Her request was granted. Gregory informs her that he has forwarded one to Candidus, who will present it to her.

It would seem that the real condition of Christianity in Gaul was at last becoming known to Gregory, and that at last he was nerving himself for a real struggle with its abuses.

Augustine on his return from Aix had brought him disquieting news. Information much more abundant and accurate than any earlier Pope had received Gregory must have gained through the residence of Candidus in Burgundy. Messengers had gone to-and-fro between Gaul and Rome. And, lastly, John, one of the seven deacons of Rome, had made a visitation of the diaconates in Gaul[1]. Thus it is that, added to the old complaints as to simony and the appointment of laymen to bishoprics, we find Gregory writing to Brunhild of grosser inconsistencies of conduct and practice among the so-called Christian Franks, unmentioned by him before. *The Church in danger.*

Hitherto the opportunity for energetic interference had been wanting. The earlier years of his

[1] Cf. IX. 11.

Papacy had been chiefly occupied with the affairs of Italy, the mission to England, and resistance to the claims of the Patriarch of Constantinople. And even now for two years more he was hindered from continuing his communications with the Church in Gaul. At least no letter of this period is extant, addressed to correspondents in that land. However in 599 he is free to turn his attention to the abuses of that Church.

Unable to leave his see himself, he sends one of the foremost churchmen in Rome as his representative to strangle in its home this many-headed hydra of godlessness. Cyriac, whom he selected for this task, held the post he himself had held before he became Pope, the abbacy of the Monastery of S. Andrew. He was to obtain the authority of the Court and the cooperation of the episcopacy for the suppression of these evils. A synod was to be held, decrees to be passed condemning these abuses, to be enforced by all the power and influence of ecclesiastics, kings, and queen. Such was the plan of Gregory.

A Mission of reformation.

In 599 Cyriac sailed, with letters of introduction to the bishops, to the kings, and to Brunhild, carrying also to Syagrius the promised pallium.

On his arrival at Marseilles he handed to its bishop, Serenus, the first of these letters[1],—memorable on other grounds. Serenus had found that the images and pictures in his churches had been worshipped by many who were only too prone to

July, 599.

[1] IX. 105. Theodore (I. 47) had been succeeded by Serenus, see VI. 52.

idolatry. An earlier iconoclast, he had hurled them down and destroyed them, jealous of this adoration of things made with hands. This had come to the ears of Gregory, who, though compelled to applaud his zeal, could not refrain from condemning what he deemed its intemperance. Set up for the instruction of the illiterate, the statues and paintings should have been preserved, he writes, and their ignorant worshippers should have been taught from them the stories they illustrated[1]. *Iconoclasm.*

In his letter[2] to Brunhild, Gregory urges her to crush out the evils against which he had so often inveighed, simony and the appointment of laymen to the Episcopate. In order once for all to extirpate these abuses he begs her to convoke a synod at which Cyriac might assist, to anathematize offenders in these respects. He announces that in fulfilment of her request he has sent a pallium to Syagrius, whom he has chosen to preside at the synod, knowing his devotion to her excellency. He concludes by expressing his surprise that in her dominions Jews are allowed to have Christian slaves[3], and begging her to exercise her authority to wipe out this stain. *A bid for Royal help.*

Practically the same letter he sent to the young kings[4]. One additional complaint however he makes,

[1] Cf. IX. 52 (sent with a present of images to the monk Secundinus), 'Scio quidem quod imaginem Salvatoris nostri non ideo petis ut quasi Deum colas sed ob recordationem filii Dei in ejus amore recalescas.'

[2] IX. 109. [3] IX. 110.

[4] Cf. VII. 24; cf. Joh. Diac. IV. 43, 'Christianos (Judaeis) quoquo modo subjici nullatenus permittebat.' Cf. Greg. Epp. III. 38; IV. 21.

that the estates of the Churches are now[1] compelled to pay tribute, a complaint which reminds us that the Church was being drawn into the swirl of the Feudal System.

The Bishops summoned to his aid.

To Syagrius, bishop of Autun, Aetherius of Lyons, Virgilius of Arles, and Desiderius of Vienne, Gregory sent by the hand of Cyriac an identical letter[2]. It sets out clearly, and denounces strongly, the chief abuses existing in their midst—simony, the consecration of laymen as bishops without any priestly training, and the practice of priests living with women. The celibacy of the clergy was not as yet a universal custom; in the lands under the sway of the Teutonic races it was not encouraged. Still Gregory would have the bishops and priests of Gaul beware of exceeding the limits set by canonical law.

He exhorts them to revive the old parochial councils, for the settlement of disputes and the making of provision for contingencies. These he would wish held at least once a year, and, if possible, twice.

To carry out these reforms he suggests the assembly of a synod, in which Cyriac and Aregius, bishop of Gap, would represent him, and at which the glaring breaches of the canons which he has mentioned should be condemned and anathematized.

Grants of Vestments.

To Aregius, who seems to have been a Frankish noble of considerable influence, Gregory sent a se-

[1] Ecclesiarum praedia tributa nunc praebeant.' If the reading 'non' for 'nunc' be adopted, Gregory is still attacking simony; if tribute is not exacted, much less should these irregular extortions be made.

[2] IX. 106.

parate letter[1]. To gain his support he grants a request preferred by him long before but then unnoticed for a time by Gregory, that he and his archdeacon might be allowed the use of the dalmatic[2] like the deacons of Rome. These robes the Pope now sends to him by Cyriac. He also gives him to feel his interest in the synod by selecting him to acquaint him with its proceedings, and to confer the pallium upon Syagrius on his pledging himself to carry out the decrees which it might pass.

To Syagrius, in addition to the circular letter, Gregory sent a letter of special instructions. He begins by proclaiming his indebtedness to him for his considerate attention to the mission of Augustine. He feels himself able no longer to delay the concession which Syagrius had asked. He had accordingly sent a pallium for his use within his church at the celebration of mass. But he has arranged that it shall be conferred upon him only on his engagement to correct by a synodal proclamation the abuses of which Gregory had complained to the bishops. He then proceeds to define the privileges the pallium brought with it. Hitherto it had implied the vicariate of Rome. Hitherto it had been bestowed only on archbishops. But Syagrius was only a bishop. Gregory therefore explains that this conferment of it does not infringe on the rights and privileges of the metropolitan. It raises the see of Autun to the second rank in the province. First in

[1] IX. 107.

[2] Symmachus when he sent the pallium to Caesarius sent leave to his deacons to wear the dalmaticae, like the deacons of Rome. (Caes. Vita, I. 22.) Cf. Joh. Diac. III. 59.

precedence in the provincial council should sit and sign, as before, the Archbishop of Lyons; then should follow the Bishop of Autun, then the other bishops according to the date of their ordination.

In return for this honour Gregory bids him show increased zeal, and turn the favour with which he was regarded by the Frankish kings to the best account.

In a supplementary letter[1] Gregory bids Syagrius send back to Italy two recalcitrant bishops who had fled to Gaul, if he would not be a partner in their fault.

Vestments refused.

Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, had demanded the pallium for himself through the regionary John. He had urged that the Apostolic See had in years past granted many privileges to the Church of Vienne, and that its bishops had received the pallium. It is unquestionable that Vienne had, as he asserted, received many privileges from the Popes, who had dexterously contrived to play off the Churches of Arles, Vienne and Lyons against one another. It was undeniably an older and more important see than that of Autun, whose bishop, Syagrius, had also asked for the pallium. But Gregory could not allow this dignity to become too common. Had he been free to deal with these demands apart from ulterior ends he would certainly have refused both. To bestow the pallium upon Syagrius was from one point of view a false step, defensible only on the ground that if the synod from which Gregory hoped so much were to prove

[1] IX. 113.

effective or even to meet at all, he must be conciliated. But Desiderius had no such recommendation. He was no courtier high in the favour of the king; he was too manly to fawn upon Brunhild[1]. And so Gregory is induced by the political influence of Syagrius to pass by the superior claims of the see of Vienne in favour of Autun. Taking advantage of his inability to find any precedent for the bestowal of the pallium upon a bishop of Vienne, he refuses it to Desiderius[2], attempting to lessen the harshness of his refusal by urging him to search for the record of such a concession. Should one be found, let him send it to Rome, and Gregory who had given the pallium to one whose see had never thus been honoured would most gladly grant it to a bishop whose predecessors had worn it of old.

The bestowal of this dignity upon Syagrius was a bold, almost a desperate, resource. Everywhere neighbouring towns and bishops jealously watched the growth of each other's influence and bitterly resented the assumption of superiority by any of their number. Gregory must have been well aware that this preference given to Syagrius, restricted and circumscribed though it was, could not fail to arouse hostility in the minds of the other prelates of Gaul. But he probably hoped that the dexterity with which he had granted privileges to or laid duties upon so many of them had linked them all to himself, and that the advantage of gaining for the

[1] He was banished by Brunhild for reproving her; was deprived in 603, and stoned later.

[2] IX. 112.

synod the support of one whose influence at Court was so great would completely counterbalance the effects of any secret displeasure they might cherish.

But the next two letters show us that he realised almost immediately that the agents whom he had selected could not be relied upon. The first[1] is addressed to Virgilius. Childebert I. in the year 548 A.D. had founded and endowed a monastery at Arles and had obtained from Pope Vigilius the confirmation of the privileges he had bestowed upon it. That Pope had been glad by this formality to confer a favour upon the barbarian king and had sent a copy of the deed to Aurelius, bishop of Arles. Time had gone by, and now Virgilius seems to have trespassed on the rights thus secured to the monastery, by claiming to administer its property and to exercise his voice in the election of its abbot. Gregory sends him a copy of the original charter of privileges and bids him see that it is not infringed.

But Vestments do not change the character.

In the other letter[2] he addresses to Virgilius and Syagrius a strong denunciation of their negligence, warning them of the account they will have to render at the last. Then in God's sight he fears they will seem to be but hirelings and not shepherds of His sheep. The case which had provoked this letter, that of a woman who having entered a convent had been carried off by her husband, he bids them take up. Let them see also that after due provision has been made for her son, her wealth is, as she desires, secured to her convent.

The tone of both these and later letters addressed

[1] IX. 111. [2] IX. 114.

to Virgilius is one of sharp reproof. Evidently Gregory was disappointed in his vicar, who certainly by no means gave him, by either his personal example or public influence, the assistance in reforming the Churches of Gaul which he had a right to expect from him.

Gregorius contra Mundum.

From this correspondence it is clear that the prospects of the assembling of the synod were ever becoming more and more remote. Virgilius of Arles would be glad to thwart the Pope's wish. The bishops whom Gregory had offended by conferring the pallium on Syagrius would probably be by no means slow to put difficulties in the way of a project by which he was to be honoured. It is hardly to be imagined that the Court would be anxious to convoke a synod for the passing of decrees which would infringe upon the royal prerogatives. Brunhild was little likely to do much to reform the lives of her subjects. And Syagrius and Aregius, upon whose help Gregory depended so much for the execution of his project, were certainly not the men to risk much in its behalf. Probably they had both obtained their bishoprics by methods the synod would be asked to anathematize, and Syagrius at any rate held heretical views which Cyriac was commissioned to denounce.

Besides, war and political confusion had once more broken over the unhappy land, drawing away men's thoughts to other than Church affairs, and suggesting a plausible excuse for neglect of Gregory's wishes. The hatred of Brunhild for Fredegond had survived the death of the latter. The invasion of

Austrasia by the dead queen on the death of Childebert II. she had not forgiven. Some opportunity of revenge had now presented itself and she had hurled the combined force of Austrasia and Burgundy upon Neustria, the kingdom of Chlotar, Fredegond's son. Unable to meet this overwhelming attack, he was brought to bay in a corner of his realm.

Thus Gregory must speedily have recognised the doom of his desires. The dream he had cherished of a union of Pope, kings, bishops and monks against the evils so prevalent in Gaul had vanished, and the reformation he had so much at heart seemed as distant as ever.

The other letters written at this time by Gregory to Gaul testify to the reputation of his influence with the Court and chiefs of the Franks. He intercedes with these in one case for a foreign bishop, in the other for a fugitive from Gaul. Both the prelate and the subject seem to have turned to him with confidence in the power he exercised upon the kingdom of the Franks. In the war which at the instance of Pope Pelagius the Franks had waged against the Lombards, Gontran, king of Burgundy, had conquered and retained a tract of territory which had been part of the diocese of Turin[1]. The parishes of which it was comprised he had formed into a new bishopric, that of Maurienne[2]. Ursicinus, bishop of Turin, thinking that in the relations of

[1] Greg. of Tours, De Gloria Martyrum, I. 14. 739, 'ille Maurienensis ad Taurinensem quondam urbem pertinebat.'

[2] Canon law ordained that no bishop should be superseded in his own diocese except for some proved fault.

friendship now existing between Gregory and the Frankish Court he saw a ground of hope for the re-establishment of his authority over this district, had applied to Gregory to exert his influence to bring about this end. He accordingly wrote to Syagrius[1], begging his interest with the kings with regard to this matter; and when this proved unavailing, to the kings themselves[2], urging them to abolish the bishopric of Maurienne and reunite that diocese with that of Turin. *Vain intercession.*

It was in vain. The Frankish kings were little likely to consent to any part of their dominions being ruled by a Lombard bishop, and the separate diocese of Maurienne continues to this day.

The occasion of the other letters was as follows:— *The Shield of Gregory's Influence.*

A certain Hilary, whom fear of his enemies seems to have driven from his native land, felt himself emboldened to return by the possession of letters[3] from Gregory to Brunhild, an unknown Vantilonus, Arigius who had been, and Asclepiadotus who was now, Patricius Galliarum, entreating them to shield him. *August 599.*

One very interesting letter[4] belongs to this time, written to Gregory by the Irish abbot of the great monastery at Luxeuil, S. Columban. The peculiarities of his costume and tonsure, the zeal with which he strove to remind the bishops of their duty, his celebration of Easter on the fourteenth day of the month, when it was a Sunday, instead of on the next Sunday, all this roused much opposition against *Columban the Sinner.*

[1] IX. 115. [2] IX. 116. [3] IX. 117, 118, 119.

[4] Migne, Columbani Epp. I. (Tom. LXXX. p. 259). Greg. Epp. IX. 127.

him among the Gallo-Frank clergy[1]. To meet this, he tried to enlist the authority of the Pope, to whom he looked up as 'the pastor of the pastors'[2]. Accordingly he wrote to Gregory a letter marked by a delightful[3] gentle humility and spirit of truthfulness. With an apology for venturing to write, he endeavours to gain him to his views on the question of Easter. Against the authority of Vigilius, who had denounced his custom, he sets that of Anatolius, of whose learning Eusebius and Jerome had spoken with respect. Other arguments he advances, begging him to exercise his own judgement and not too blindly follow the tradition held by the Popes since Leo's time, since, as he punningly says, 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.'

On two points he asks Gregory's advice. How must he treat bishops who had acquired their sees by simony—the number of whom he bewails, or who, though as deacons they had proved false to their trust, had yet attained to the higher degree? What was Gregory's counsel as to the method in which monks should be dealt with who left their monasteries without their abbot's consent?

[1] Later, in 602, a council met to consider what action should be taken in reference to him. To it he wrote a letter defending his views and begging to be allowed to remain in Gaul. Migne, Tom. LXXX. p. 264. In 610 he was assaulted and banished by Brunhild for reproving the licentiousness of Theodorich.

[2] He thus speaks of the Bishop of Rome in his Epistle to Boniface IV. But its genuineness is doubted.

[3] Surely the writer of the article 'Columbanus' in Smith's Dic. of Christian Biography can never have read this letter. It is impossible to find in it 'the haughty bearing' which he attributes to 'the words and letters of Columbanus the Sinner'.

These and other questions he would have come to Rome to ask in person, if his bodily weakness and the charge of his fellow-strangers had not prevented him.

He then begs Gregory to send him part of his commentary on Ezekiel, also elucidatory remarks on the latter portion of the Song of Songs, such thirst for more of Gregory's writings has his 'Pastoral Rule' created.

Of the Pope's charity he entreats an answer. 'Peace to thee and thine. I pray that in thy holy prayers to our common Lord, thou wouldst even once pray for me, the sinner of all the vilest.' Then drawn irresistibly to that question on which he felt so strongly and for which he suffered so much, he thus concludes, 'If as I have heard from thy blessed servant Candidus thou dost mean to answer that it is impossible to alter what has been laid down firmly by antiquity—doubtless the error is old but still older is the truth which convicts it.'

Gregory's answer to this noble letter unfortunately is not preserved. With the same ends in view, with the same zeal, with the same 'common Lord', he could not fail to honour the Irish saint, and though he could not yield on the questions on which they differed, at least we may hope that the reply was not unworthy of the letter that called it forth.

The insults and banishment which Columban experienced at the hands of Brunhild are a sad commentary on the relations of Gregory with both of them.

In Gregory's correspondence there is nothing for

another year that relates to Gaul. Probably the ill-success of his project for holding the synod deterred him from attempting any large interference with the affairs of the Church in that country. His endeavours to arouse individual bishops to a sense of their duty had probably also failed. Nor was there much to encourage him. Brunhild after murdering Wentrio, the regent of Austrasia, had been compelled to fly to the Burgundian court. War spread over the land. Syagrius, to whom he looked for so much support, died, and the other bishops probably felt little kindness to Gregory.

October, 600 A.D. A year elapses, and then Gregory renews his correspondence with Gaul. He writes to rouse Conon, abbot of the monastery of Lerins, to watchfulness and energy[1].

Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, whom Gregory had rebuked for his iconoclasm, had written to the Pope a letter in which, while he professes his respect for him, he gives expression to his resentment of the reproof, even pretending to doubt whether the letter which contained it was not a forgery by Cyriac.

The use of Images. This unworthy suspicion Gregory writes[2] to denounce, and once more explains his views on pictures and images. No bishop had ever before destroyed them. To break them was but to attempt to avoid the long duty of teaching their right use. And now Gregory has another ground of complaint against him. He has heard that Serenus maintains a friendship with a lapsed presbyter, despite the immoral life he was

[1] XI. 12. [2] XI. 13.

leading. This familiarity must be broken off, and such vices everywhere reproved.

The Second Mission to England.

Shortly afterwards, rejoiced at the success of the mission of Augustine, the Pope sent another band of monks headed by Mellitus and Laurentius to reinforce him. The necessary letters of introduction to the bishops and kings and Brunhild[1] he turned to account by once more attempting in them to prevail upon these authorities to convoke the synod which two years before he had eagerly wished for. He singles out for denunciation the evil of simony[2], and urges the duty of eradicating it upon all his correspondents.

June 23, 601 A.D.

A new Royal friend.

The additional names to which these letters are addressed are noteworthy. For the first time Gregory writes to Chlotar[3], king of Neustria. Probably peace had been made between the rival monarchs. Probably also he had discovered how much the power of Brunhild had diminished, and saw clearly that now it was worth his while, even at the risk of alienating her, to cultivate the friendship of the Neustrian king. The attention he had shown to Augustine, Gregory gratefully acknowledges, begs him to extend the same favour to the new mission, and bespeaks his assistance to crush simony by the decrees of a synod.

New hopes of reform.

Hitherto, moreover, the bishops with whom he had corresponded had been mainly those of the South-east. But now he extends his list, and commends Mellitus and his companions to the sympathy and

[1] XI. 54–62. [2] XI. 63.
[3] XI. 61.

help of the bishops of all the towns on their route, including Châlons, Metz, Paris and Rouen[1].

Gregory and Culture.

One or two of these letters have also their peculiar points of interest. Thus, in that to Desiderius, bishop of Vienne[2], he expresses the regret with which he has heard that he is in the habit of giving lessons in classical literature[3]. Candidus had denied this 'execrable rumour', but the doubt weighed heavily on Gregory, who would be sincerely

[1] XI. 58. Mennae Telonae, Sereno Massiliae, Lupo Cabilloni, Aigulfo Mettis, Simplicio Parisiis, Melantio Rotomo, et Licinio.

[2] XI. 54.

[3] With this compare what he says in the dedicatory letter to his 'Moralia'. 'Unde et ipsam loquendi artem quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant, servare despexi....Indignum vehementer existimo ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.' (Migne, Tom. LXXV. p. 516, Epistola, c. 5:) Contrast the account given in his Life by John the Deacon, II. 13 and 14 (Migne, LXXV. 92), of the flourishing condition of art and literature at Rome during his rule. Also the character given him by Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. x. 1). 'Litteris grammaticis, dialecticisque ac rhetoricis ita erat institutus ut nulli in urbe ipsa putaretur esse secundus.' Contrast also the comment given in his Exposition of 1 Kings XIII. 20 and 21. 'Quae profecto saecularium librorum eruditio et si per semetipsam ad spiritalem sanctorum conflictum non prodest, si divinae Scripturae scientia subtilius eruditur. Ad hoc quidem tantum liberales artes discendae sunt ut per instructionem illarum divina eloquia subtilius intelligantur. A nonnullorum cordibus discendi desiderium maligni spiritus tollunt: ut et saecularia nesciant et ad sublimitatem spiritalium non pertingant. ...Aperte quidem daemones sciunt quia dum saecularibus litteris instruimur, in spiritalibus adjuvamur.' Moses, Isaiah, and Paul were all trained in secular knowledge. (Migne, LXXIX. In Primum Regum Expos. Bk. v. 30, pp. 355, 6.) This passage has been suspected. But we can only suppose that there were special circumstances in the case of Desiderius that called for rebuke.

thankful to God were he sure that Desiderius did not pursue this trifling study.

The letter to Virgilius[1] urges him, as metropolitan of Serenus, to compel him to part company with the lapsed presbyter and his other depraved friends.

Aetherius, archbishop of Lyons, had evidently written to ask for the pallium. Gregory[2] expresses his delight at the sentiments touching Church order contained in his letter, but can find in the papal archives no documentary evidence of a precedent. If Aetherius can find such proofs, let him forward them. Probably in connexion with the same request, as proving the antiquity of the Church at Lyons, Aetherius had asked Gregory to send him a copy of the 'Life of Irenaeus' or his writings. But none could be found.

Amongst these letters[3] we find two commending Candidus to the care and protection of Asclepiadotus[4], patrician of Gaul, and Aregius[5], bishop of Gap[6]. To the former Gregory sends a key from S. Peter's chains. He is encouraged, he asserts, to place Candidus and the estate of the Roman Church under his guardianship by the knowledge of his kindness to the poor.

[1] XI. 55.

[2] XI. 56.

[3] The order according to MSS is XI. 58, 57, 14, 15, and the date is x ante Kal. Jul. The Benedictine editors connected these letters with XI. 12 and 13, which date from the previous Oct. and read x Kal. Nov. but without sufficient grounds for the change.

[4] XI. 14.

[5] Thus the MSS seem to read here. Elsewhere he is Aregius.

[6] XI. 15.

Despite all his efforts, he could get no synod convoked. The kings were as averse as ever from giving their sanction to any attack on the simony which they found so lucrative. Nothing was done, so once more he had to fall back upon private and individual effort. Shortly after the mission of Mellitus, he seems to have anticipated that Augustine would return with tidings of his success. He therefore wrote to Virgilius[1] begging him to cordially welcome him and correct any abuse he might point out, for strangers often see faults more plainly than those to whom they are familiar.

Hope crushed.

A letter to Brunhild[2] of the same period is almost a wail of disappointment. 'So shameless and evil is the life of some ecclesiastics in that region that it shocks us to hear, and cuts us to the heart to speak, of their conduct. But, since those whose place it is to correct this have neither anxiety to discover it nor zeal to punish it,' he bids her name one whom he might send to reform these abuses with their joint authority.

An illustration of the relations between Gregory and Candidus is given us in a letter[3] in which the Pope bids the rector find some post as presbyter or abbot for a certain Aurelius who had come to him from Gaul. This also throws some light on the position of Candidus, who, though nominally only rector of the patrimony of Peter, evidently possessed considerable influence and authority over the surrounding Churches.

[1] XI. 68. [2] XI. 69.

[3] XI. 70.

Perhaps it was the same Aurelius[1] to whom Gregory shortly afterwards sent a letter of condolence upon the death of his brother, supposed by some to be the ex-patrician Dynamius. Thus bereaved, he is exposed to the attacks of wicked men. Let him however, remembering that this life is but a pilgrimage, hold steadily on his way, devoting himself more than ever to alms-giving, to hospitality, and to prayer.

As Brunhild gave no sign of acquiescence in the convocation of a synod, Gregory's hopes died out. He could do little more for Gaul now, it would seem, than interfere when appealed to in isolated cases. His efforts to reform the Gallic Church must be circumscribed by his influence on individuals. Thus the only letter sent by him to Gaul for many months was one[2] forbidding Desiderius to continue his attempts to draw back into the ranks of the clergy a deacon Pancratius who had entered a monastery. *April (prob.): 602.*

But once more an overture from the Frankish Court seems for a moment to promise better things. This was no other than a mission of two noble Franks from Theodorich, king of Burgundy, entreating his good services for the establishment of a lasting peace between the Franks and the empire[3]. To secure his mediation, it is probable that they brought the royal promise that a synod should be convoked. At least Gregory was asked to appoint a delegate to represent him in it. The ambassadors *Nov.* 602. *Pope, Emperor and King.*

[1] XI. 75. Another reading suggested is Aureliae, cf. VII. 36 and VII. 12, where an Aurelia or Aureliana joins with Dynamius in founding a monastery. See pp. 48 and 50.

[2] XII. 35. [3] XIII. 7.

also laid before him the case of a bishop who had become subject to attacks of insanity. Gregory accordingly wrote to Aetherius, who was his metropolitan, directing him how he might legally put another in his place; at the same time urging him to scrupulously assert his rights in the ordination of presbyters and deacons[1].

Accompanying the missive of the king came a letter from Brunhild, begging him, besides treating for peace with the Emperor, to grant a charter to a church, a monastery for women, and a hostel which she had erected at Autun.

Gregory promises both Theodorich[2] and Brunhild[3] to exert his influence to bring about the desired treaty, praises their zeal and good works, and confirms the privileges of their institutions as they had wished.

Brunhild and the Bishops.

His letter to Brunhild also deals with two noteworthy points. Apparently she had sent to Rome a bishop Menna[4] to defend himself against a charge of heresy. Gregory announces that Menna has successfully rebutted the accusation, and that he has therefore sent him back to his post in honour.

She had also asked him whether she might raise to the episcopate one who, following the not infrequent use of the Franks, had two wives. This

[1] So Reccared, Visigoth king of Spain, had sought to make Gregory his intermediary with the Emperor, IX. 122. Mihi vestra excellentia...mandare curaverat ut piissimo imperatori scriberem, &c.

[2] XIII. 7, to Theodorich.

[3] XIII. 6, to Brunhild.

[4] Bishop of Telo (see XI. 58) in Provence.

of course Gregory forbade according to the canons, deprecating her doing anything which might counteract her many deeds of piety and religion.

But the most important documents that Gregory ever sent to Gaul were the charters of privileges which, at the request of Theodorich and Brunhild, he granted to the hostel, monastery and church founded by the latter at Autun[1]. So remarkable are they that some have expressed doubts as to their genuineness, but without reason. *Nov.* 602 A.D.

Papal Charters.

The charter of the hostel[2], which with necessary alterations is the same as the other two, lays down: that its endowments shall never be diverted by anyone, even by the king, from the purposes for which they were intended; that on the death of the abbot, his successor shall be appointed by the king, the consent of the monks being necessary; that money shall never be paid to anyone, even the king, on account of the ordination of an abbot; that the abbot shall never be deprived or deposed, unless, a definite charge of evil-doing having been laid against him, the Bishop of Autun with six other bishops shall, after examination held, declare it proved. The abbot shall never hold a bishopric with his abbacy. No monk shall ever be removed from the hostel for promotion by a bishop without the abbot's consent. These decrees shall be binding for ever.

The Papal Curse.

The determined tone of the charter itself is sufficiently striking, but still more striking is the conclusion which contains the sanction of these ordinances. It is the first instance we have on

[1] XIII. 8, 9, 10. [2] XIII. 8.

record of the registering of the Papal Curse upon offenders against Papal decrees. This curse then in its original form was as follows: 'If any king or priest, or judge, or layman, recognising our ordinance of this page[1], attempts to contravene it, let him lose the dignity of his power and estate, and let him know that he thereby becomes a criminal at the bar of God for the unrighteousness he has committed. And if he does not restore what he has sacrilegiously stolen, and bewail with due penitence his unlawful deeds, let him become a stranger to the most blessed body and blood of our God and Lord, Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and in the eternal judgement let him feel the weight of stern punishment.'

With this Papal Curse the Mediæval Papacy may be said to have been inaugurated.

The granting of these charters was the last act in the relations of Gregory with Gaul of which we have any record. The political confusion which the feuds of Theodorich and Theodebert and the violence of Brunhild brought upon Austrasia and Burgundy made the gathering of a synod impossible. And Gregory's growing ailments might well render him slow to once more attempt what he must have felt to be the almost hopeless task of the reform of the Gallo-Frankish Church.

Of the negotiations with the Emperor, which he had pledged himself to Theodorich and Brunhild to open, we know nothing, as to either their progress or their result.

[1] 'hanc constitutionis nostrae paginam agnoscens.'

The correspondence of the last two years of Gregory's life is immeasurably less voluminous than that of the rest of his Papacy, and among his extant letters of that period we find none relating to Gaul.

Review of these Letters.

We have therefore now examined the different chapters in the relations of Gregory with Gaul, endeavouring to suffer no detail to escape us that might throw any light upon his purposes and methods. We have seen that his earliest letters were formal, announcing his election or acknowledging the receipt of moneys. We noted how Childebert's request that he would grant the pallium to Virgilius opened out to him a view of wider and more beneficial influence. This influence he loses no opportunity of increasing. The disgraced Frankish rector of the Roman patrimony he replaces by a Roman ecclesiastic of his 'familia', to whom he grants unusual authority. He gains the friendship of the all-powerful queen-mother, and fondly fancies that a brighter day is dawning even now. Childebert's death and the consequent confusion deferred his hopes for a while. But the mission of Augustine brought him into new and closer relations with the bishops and the Frankish Court. And now the royal request that Syagrius may receive the pallium revives his hopes of effecting through him and the Court which he swayed the reformation he desired so earnestly. But his hopes are dashed once more, Syagrius and the Court refuse to move. Two years of hopelessness pass by, when the journey of Mellitus once more brings him into contact with the Church

and Court of Gaul; but his entreaty for a synod to deal with simony meets nowhere with response.

Yet once again, after a year of weary waiting, his wishes seem about to be fulfilled, as once again the Frankish Court is a suitor for his favours, and promises that the long-wished synod shall assemble. And yet once again the clouds of disappointment close over his heaven, his desire apparently as far from satisfaction as ever, the Church of Gaul no purer or more orderly than when he first assailed its abuses.

Gregory's motives.

In all this we find no trace of what we may call political motives. It has been said[1] that he deliberately turned to the Frankish Court as a counterpoise to the Imperial power, that he sought in the Teutonic races support against the encroachments of Constantinople. We are asked to believe that with prophetic insight he perceived that the Pontiff of Rome needed external aid if he were to maintain his rights against the Emperor, and that, like an earlier Canning, he called a new world into political existence to redress the balance of the old. But is there anything in the narrative of his relations with Gaul to support this theory? He never throws himself upon the help of the Franks, never plays

[1] Lau, p. 181. Wir glauben nicht zu irren wenn wir den Hauptgrund (of his relations with Gaul) in dem Verhältnisse Gregors zu der griechischen Regierung und namentlich zum Kaiser Mauritius finden.

Lau, p. 54. Einen Damm gegen die Anmassungen des griechischen Hofes und grössere Selbständigkeit der Kirche zu erringen, &c.

Lau, p. 54. Allein seinem Scharfblicke war es gegeben die völlige Aenderung der Verhältnisse der occidentalischen Kirche durch ein näheres Anschliessen an das Frankenreich einzuleiten.

them off against the Emperor, never hints in any of his letters that they can be of any service to himself. He even abandons the policy of his predecessor, which pointed somewhat in this direction, preferring to meet the Lombards unaided to calling in the half-heathen Franks against them. The old Roman spirit was too strong in him, and the pride of his senatorial family was too high in his heart, for him ever to forget that the Emperor was a Roman and the Frankish king a barbarian. An Anicius could never harbour such a treasonable thought as the plan of opposing Teutonic influence to the legal authority of the Imperial 'High-priest of God'.

No, it was a far different motive we are convinced that fired the heart and moulded the conduct of Gregory. The repeated attempts, in the face of so much opposition and despite so many disappointments, to reform the Gallic Church,—are they not evidently sincere and whole-hearted? Surely to persist in his request for the convocation of a synod for so many years was calculated rather to alienate than to gain the royal favour. Such perseverance could be prompted, not by human policy, but only by zeal for the purity of the Church.

And this is borne out by the energy with which he denounced what he considered evil in private individuals. The smoothness of his earlier letters gives way to fierce denunciations of negligence and sin, not only in the general but also in the particular. Everywhere he brings his personal influence to bear on the side of the Good and the Pure and the True. And if we cannot forget that he shrank from giving

offence to Brunhild and the kings of the Franks, let us not forget also that he seized the first opportunity they gave him of forging that mighty weapon of the Papal Curse which should smite down royalty itself when it presumed to lay hands on the rights of religion.

Surely then what actuated him in his relations with Gaul was no deep-laid, far-sighted, political design, but a single-minded zeal for God, for the purity of His Church, and for its efficiency in the pulling down of the strongholds of sin. Next to the conversion of England, what had he so much at heart as the reformation of Gaul?

His methods.

To accomplish these aims he turned for aid to the Court. While the connexion of Church and State remained as it was, he saw that without royal help he could effect nothing. To gain this help then he spared no effort. It was to secure it that he incurred the displeasure of the bishops. It was this that led him into his adulation of the passionate queen and cruel kings. Never despairing utterly, though cast down so frequently, he struggled and wrestled on to obtain this.

Trained in the traditions of the Imperial Papacy he could form no conception of a Church free from the State. We cannot see in aught that he did any attempt to destroy the connexion of the Church with Royalty in Gaul[1]. The mission of Cyriac, in

[1] Lau, pp. 194, 195. Gregor freilich konnte...einsehen dass jene Uebel...(nicht)...gehoben werden konnten, wenn nicht die ganze Kirche, was aber unmöglich war, aus dem schon bestehenden Verhältnisse zu dem Regenten heraustrat....Gregor und mit ihm

which such a design has been imagined, certainly seems to bear out no such opinion. From first to last, Cyriac and the synod were to rely upon the authority of the king. There is no attempt here to set the synod up against the royal power. No. Leaning as he ever did upon that power, conscious that if the Church were to be purged the king's authority would alone be able to purge it, Gregory was far less likely to seek to injure the royal headship of the Church than to confirm it, that the king's intervention for which he ever hoped might be still more effective.

His success.

What was the fruit of his work? it may be asked. Very little directly it is true, but the apparent failure must not blind us to the fact that he had much real success.

For the reformation on which he had set his heart the land was not ready. The age was an age of transition, and transition cannot be hurried. God's work proceeds slowly, that it may be thoroughly done. Two hundred years passed ere his dream could be realised. But when Karl the Great was crowned by Leo III., and the Frankish Emperor went forth to be the strong arm of the guiding Roman pontiff, then what Gregory had striven for in vain had been evolved by the lapse of years.

Had he done nothing more than teach succeeding Popes what the Papacy might be, his life had been

mehrere fränkische Bischöfe...beklagten die die Kirche zerrüttenden Folgen, welche jetzt schon die Verbindung der Kirche mit dem Staate durch das Lehnsverband hatte und Gregor beschloss einen ernsten Schritt zur Abschaffung derselben zu unternehmen, &c.

fruitful. If all that he had done had been to fix for the Frankish Court a tradition of friendship with the Apostolic See, he had not worked in vain. But he had done more than this. He had cheered the hearts of lonely toilers in the barbarous land. He had brought Christian influences to bear upon godless savages like Brunhild and Theodorich. In a land where the name of bishop had been commonly associated with simony, or avarice, or ignorance, he had made it respected. He had been a trumpet-voice denouncing sin. To these fierce Franks and degenerate Romans he had given an ideal.

But besides all this he had nourished and marshalled the host that was to subdue the heathenism and vice of the land. He had defended the monks against the bishops[1], and had made the Papal Curse their bulwark against royal oppression. But, what perhaps did more than any of his other actions to benefit the West, he had officially sanctioned the rule of S. Benedict, and recommended its use throughout his Patriarchate. Before he died, that rule was followed by almost all the monasteries of Gaul. The vigorous, united Monasticism, which from the barbarism and heathenism of the Teutonic race developed the Christianity of the Middle Ages, was the product of this act of organisation[2].

Thus, though disappointments so frequent fell upon him, though all his efforts seemed to have

[1] In 601, by a decree of the Lateran Council, he exempted all monasteries from episcopal control.

[2] Montalembert, II. 174 (Eng. Trans.), justly calls him 'The protector, propagator, and legislator of the monks of the West.'

been made in vain, though his hopes vanished like empty mockeries, all was not lost, his labour was not in vain.

By work so persistent, by zeal so enthusiastic, by patience in such trial triumphant, by hopes so grand and aims so lofty, right well has he earned his place amongst

> 'The noble and great who are gone,
> Pure souls honour'd and blest
> By former ages,'

whose

> 'is the praise, if mankind
> Hath not as yet in its march
> Fainted, and fallen, and died!'

APPENDIX I.

A Sketch of the relations of the Franks with the Papacy from the Death of Gregory the Great a.d. 604 to the Coronation of Karl the Great a.d. 800.

Chaos.

After the death of Gregory I. communication between the Popes and the kings and bishops of Gaul seems to have practically ceased for many years. The failure of this great Pope to effect any reformation in that country appears to have deterred his feebler successors from attempting it. The disorganisation of the Church of that country became complete. After Virgilius no vicar of the Apostolic See was nominated for nearly a century and a half. No metropolitans were appointed. Every bishop became independent, and did what seemed right in his own eyes. To add to the darkness of the outlook, Columban and his monks were expelled by Brunhild, and thus the clearest light of Christianity in Gaul was quenched.

However, when Chlotar on Theodorich's death united under himself all the conquests of the Franks, the court returned to the example of Childebert I. and extended a lavish patronage to monasticism. Dagobert I. who succeeded Chlotar, was still more famous for his piety and benevolence, but neither of these monarchs seems to have cultivated any connexion with Rome.

It is not until the reign of Siegbert that we find a Pope endeavouring again to exercise the slightest influence on Gaul. In his reign, Amandus, bishop of Utrecht, daunted in his work among the Frisians by the trials and persecutions which he suffered, wrote to Pope Martin I. to announce his intention of laying down his office. That unfortunate Pope, who was then engrossed with the Monothelite controversy, which proved his ruin, wrote to dissuade him from this step[1]. He proceeded to urge Amandus to persuade Siegbert to convoke a synod, and to read before it the decrees which a Lateran council had just carried, condemning Sergius and Paul, the Monothelite Patriarchs of Constantinople. He begged him also to prevail on Siegbert to add some Frankish bishops to the embassy he was about to send to remonstrate with the Emperor on his support of their heresy.

Martin I.

A.D. 649.

Of the result of this letter we know nothing certain[2]. To this same Pope have been ascribed three charters to Frankish monasteries. Two of these are certainly, the other possibly, spurious. It purports to be a deed of privileges granted by Martin to a monastery at Rebecq consecrated by Amandus, and built by a certain Dado who had come to Rome to beg for the charter in person[3]. The only article interesting to us is one forbidding 'any of the Franks to usurp the power of selling it or giving it in fee.'

The second half of the seventh century saw considerable movement amongst the Churches of Gaul. Several

Religious movement apart from the Papacy.

[1] Martin. Ep. II. Migne, Patrologia, t. 87, p. 133.

[2] Mansi, x. p. 863, on the authority of the Bollandist life of S. Audoneus, asserts that the king (Chlotar) did call a synod which appointed Audoneus and Eligius to go on the embassy. The Bollandist life of Eligius (Dec. 1) says that they were prevented from going.

[3] Migne, 87, p. 206.

councils were held, yet with one doubtful exception, without Papal sanction[1]. Desiderius, bishop of Cahors[2], exerted great influence over both Gaul and Spain. His correspondence includes letters to the kings and many of the bishops of these lands, but there is no trace in it of communication with Rome. There is the same remarkable feature in the copious writings of Eligius, Donatus, and other contemporary writers in Gaul. And in the very numerous 'diplomata' granted by the Frankish kings[3] there is the same absence of reference to the Popes. The only point of contact between the Apostolic See and the Christians of Gaul during this half century would seem to have been the pilgrimages made to the city of Peter. The latter were not themselves at the pains to enter upon these perilous journeys, but beyond them lived Christians for whom Rome had an irresistible attraction. Nearly every English Christian of this period whose story has been preserved to us made at least one journey thither. Thus Wilfrid of York, Benedict Biscop, and Boniface all traversed Gaul, the last in company with many other English pilgrims. The first, in returning, on one occasion remained three years at Lyons, and on another was welcomed as an honoured guest and adviser at the court of Dagobert II. Every one of these pilgrims was a devoted champion of the Papal claims, and their intercourse with the Churches on their route could not fail to increase their reverence for Rome and its bishops.

Pilgrimages.

About 654.

About 679.

But the swift succession of feeble Popes, engrossed as they were in their conflict with the Emperors, produced none capable of taking advantage of this feeling until

[1] See Mansi x. passim and Concilium Namnetense.

[2] Migne, 87, p. 217, &c.

[3] See them in Migne, 88, p. 1078, ff.

the attention of Gregory II. was forcibly drawn to the Frankish kingdom and its dependencies.

The English Missions to Germany.

The zeal of the English Christians early showed itself in missions to the Teutonic tribes who were still heathen. And thus the work of Gregory I. may be said to have resulted in the conversion of Germany as well as of England. For almost all the missionaries of the 7th and 8th centuries were English either by birth or training. Of these the most famous and the most important as far as our subject is concerned was Winfried, better known as Boniface, the apostle of Germany. To missionary zeal he added a deep-seated reverence for the authority of the Apostolic See. In 718 accordingly he came to Rome to beg for authority from the Pope for the evangelization of the heathen beyond the Rhine. Fired perhaps with the hope of becoming a worthy successor of his namesake Gregory the Great by extending the boundaries of the Church, the Pope readily granted him all the powers he sought[1]. Boniface as readily took the oath of allegiance to the Roman See which Gregory imposed. Thus satisfied, Gregory left nothing undone to secure the success of the mission. He wrote to all the bishops and to all the Churches of Gaul and Germany urging them to give it their support[2]. And he also commended Boniface to the assistance of Karl, the all-powerful Mayor of the Palace[3].

Boniface.

A Second Gregory.

It was the obvious policy of the Frankish leaders to encourage the efforts of the English missionaries. For though they claimed the rule over the Bavarians, Thuringians and other heathen tribes they found them but restless and ungovernable subjects. And even more

[1] Greg. II. Ep. I. Migne, tom. 89, p. 495.

[2] Greg. Epp. III. IV. V. VI. VII.

[3] Ep. II.

The Franks and Boniface.

trouble was caused to them by their unrestrained neighbours, the Saxons and Frisians. Any attempt therefore to implant in these nations civilisation and organisation and order was sure to be welcomed by the statesmen at the head of the Franks. Accordingly Karl wrote to the Pope[1], assuring him that Boniface should have his support, and his promise was kept[2]. With the remarkable success of the mission we are not here concerned, save in as far as it brought Gregory and Boniface into closer relations with Karl. To his protection and support both gratefully attributed it to a very high degree.

Gregory II. and Gaul.

Gregory felt himself able to interpose in the affairs of Gaul as no Pope had done since his namesake. A quarrel which had arisen between the bishops of Fréjus and Grasse he promptly decided[3], by forbidding the former to encroach upon the see of his neighbour. And at the request of the abbot of a monastery at Trier he sent a charter of immunities to it[4]. That an ecclesiastic of Gaul should seek this from the Pope instead of from the Frankish king is sufficient to show that the influence of Rome was once more making itself powerfully felt.

This growing influence the Popes soon turned to account in a very different way. In 729 Karl by his victory over the Moors at Tours established his reputation as the champion of Christianity. The Pope, who had his own difficulties with the fleets of these infidels, was by this victory drawn into closer accord with their 'Hammer'. But, not content with looking to him for aid against these common foes, Gregory endeavoured to obtain his help against a Christian nation which had

[1] Greg. Ep. IX.

[2] Greg. Ep. VIII. Boniface, Ep. XI. Migne, 89, p. 699.

[3] Epp. XV. and XVI.

[4] Ep. XIX.

been his ally in the contest with Islam. The bitter hatred of the Lombards which the Popes entertained might seem almost unintelligible. For more than a century they had been Catholic. Their kings at this period seem to have been not merely able but virtuous, according to the standard of the time. They had fought bravely against the Moors. But their earlier Arianism seems never to have been forgiven them. Their Churches were loth to recognise the authority of the Pope. Next to the exarchate, which was too weak to be a source of fear, they were the nearest neighbours of Rome. They had never lost their spirit and military ardour and skill. The Popes then, with the hatred born out of conscious weakness and constant apprehension, painted them as wild and ruthless savages and children of the devil. Their introduction of leprosy into Italy gave rise to the rumour that they were a nation of lepers. Constant border disputes with the exarch and the Pope bred a spirit of hostility on both sides. Under circumstances like these it is not strange that the policy of calling the Franks into Italy to crush the Lombards which the predecessors of Gregory I. had initiated should have been adopted by Gregory II. and his successors.

The Popes and the Lombards.

The first return to this policy would seem to have been occasioned by the rising of his Italian subjects against the iconoclastic decree of the Emperor Leo. Liutprand, the Lombard king, gained possession of Ravenna as an ally of the insurgents. In the complications which ensued Gregory would seem to have in vain besought Karl Martel to interpose against that king, whose alliance had been of service to him in his war with the Moors.

A.D. 729.

A suppliant Pope.

Two years later Gregory II. died. One of the first acts of his successor Gregory III. was to bestow upon

A.D. 731.

Boniface Archbishop.

Boniface the pallium[1]. Ten years before[2], his success had been rewarded with the title of bishop, and now he was raised to metropolitan rank. With these credentials, Boniface soon acquired an influence over the chiefs of the Franks which bore early fruit in their devotion to the Apostolic See. The respect for the Pope which he would inculcate may be gathered from portions of the oath which he had taken on his ordination as bishop[3]: 'I vow to thee, blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles, and to thy vicar, the holy Gregory, and to his successors...to prove in all things...my entire devotion to thee,...to thy Church ...to thy said vicar and to his successors.'

Karl Martel gladly welcomed him to his court, and though he was too much of a German to acknowledge all the claims he made on behalf of the Pope, he readily assisted him not merely in his mission to the tribes beyond the Rhine but also in his efforts to reform the Church of Gaul. And great need truly was there of such efforts, if we may trust the letters of Boniface.

The old abuses.

For according to this authority the priests who had been regularly ordained were outnumbered by the criminals and runaway slaves who had assumed the tonsure and the name of priest or even bishop without the slightest right. Many a bishopric had been seized and held by laymen without ordination for its wealth. And against the bishops who had been regularly appointed he flings charges of drunkenness, fornication, adultery, brawling and joining in war thick and fast, but apparently with only too much truth.

But his influence speedily told. It is true that his

[1] Greg. III. Ep. 1. Migne, 89, p. 575.

[2] 722.

[3] For this oath see Greg. II. Ep. 1. Migne, 89, p. 497, and appendix to Boniface's Letters, p. 803.

advocacy of the Papal authority met with resistance from many of the ecclesiastics whom he met at the court of Karl Martel. But public opinion favoured continually more and more his attempts to reform the lives of priests and the disorganisation of the Church. And thus his energy won for his Papal nomination as leading prelate among the Franks the confirmation of the people and chiefs.

Gregory III. and the Lombards.

It was probably the support which Karl had given to his representative that encouraged Gregory to seek his aid in the straits to which he had brought himself by aiding the dispossessed Duke of Spoleto in an attempt to regain his duchy from Liutprand, who had held it since 729. When the Lombard king marched upon Rome Gregory wrote to beg Karl's help, addressing him as Roman consul and presenting to him as the badge of his authority the keys of the sepulchre of S. Peter[1]. But though the headship of the Roman Republic was thus conferred upon him, Karl hesitated to break off his alliance with the powerful Lombard king. Equally vain was a more piteous appeal[2] from the Pope in the following year, in which he asserted that the church of S. Peter had been plundered of the gifts Karl and his ancestors had sent to it. Karl contented himself with a courteous reply.

A German Consul of Rome.

741. *Pope Zacharias.*

The next year saw great changes, for in it both Gregory and Karl Martel died. The Pope was succeeded by the able and bold Zacharias, who contrived by his courage and tact to keep the Lombards in awe without invoking the intervention of the Franks. However he left his impress upon the relations between them and the Papacy. Close as had been the bond between Boniface

[1] Ep. v. See also Fredegar on year 741. Migne, 71, p. 680.

[2] Ep. vi.

and Rome, Zacharias made it closer yet, a policy which ultimately resulted in a firm alliance between the Frankish rulers and the Pope. For Karl Martel's sons, Karlmann and Pippin, between whom his power was now divided, regarded Boniface with the utmost reverence. Their interest in ecclesiastical affairs was deeper than their father's, and their respect for religion more sincere. Karlmann especially was a ready instrument in the hands of Boniface.

Under his influence the two brothers took in hand the reformation of the Church in Gaul, which upon his principles necessarily involved fuller recognition of the claims of Rome[1]. Zacharias had no difficulty in obtaining Karlmann's consent to the convocation of a synod to inaugurate reform[2]. That ruler authorised Boniface to call together the bishops in his territories, promising him his support. At this council[3], the first for eighty years held in Gaul, Boniface's supremacy as representative of the Pope was acknowledged. Decrees were passed for the reform of the priesthood and of the monasteries, and it was decided that synods should be held yearly. In the following year a similar council was held under Pippin's authority in his realm, Boniface presiding as before. The same decrees were passed and others added, including some imposing fines on those who proved delinquents[4].

A Synod at last.

742.

743.

The Reformation under Boniface.

At five such councils Boniface presided; a fact which shows that the reformation was not merely a spasmodic

[1] See Vita S. Bonifacii, § 29. Migne, 89, p. 623.

[2] Boniface, Ep. XLIX.

[3] Concilium Germanicum. Mansi, XII. p. 365. Capit. Regum Franc. I. 24.

[4] Concilium Liptinense. Mansi, XII. 370. The Cap. Regum Franc. (I. 26) assigns its decrees to Karlmann, not Pippin.

effort. His success at one of these he thus describes[1]: 'We declared and professed that to the end of our lives we will keep the Catholic faith, unity and obedience to the Church of Rome, S. Peter, and his vicar.... And we all consented and set our hands to that profession.' Each bishop promised also to bring before the Pope any difficulty he could not surmount in his attempt to reform his diocese. At another of these councils Boniface nominated three archbishops for North-east Gaul, for Rouen, Sens and Reims, the first for more than a century. His influence was not sufficient, however, to persuade two of these to recognise the authority of Rome so far as to beg the pallium from the Pope[2]. At another he succeeded in procuring the suspension of two popular priests, Clement and Adelbert, and the reference to the Pope of the charges of heresy which he laid against them[3]. We cannot wonder that Zacharias rewarded his zeal by appointing him his vicar over both Germany and Gaul[4]. Fixing his seat at Mainz he laboured from that centre to carry on the reform in both countries to which the Pope urged him[5].

The authority of Boniface.

The crowning illustration of his influence is the abdication of Karlmann and his retreat into the monastery of Monte Casino, a step which he is said to have taken at the direct instigation of Boniface.

A Royal Monk.

Pippin into whose hands the undivided sway of the Franks thus fell, was none the less ready to aid the projects of Zacharias. In this same year the Pope sent

[1] See Letter of Boniface to Cuthbert, Ep. LXIII. Migne, 89, p. 763. Mansi, XII. p. 379.

[2] Cf. Zacharias, Epp. V. and VI. Migne, 89, p. 925.

[3] Migne, 89, p. 830. Zach. Epp. IX. X.

[4] Zach. Ep. VI.

[5] Zach. Epp. XI. XIV.

him a collection of canons[1] for the government of the Church in his dominions.

The Pope supreme.

Another letter[2] expressed his approval and thanks to the bishops of Gaul and Germany for their cooperation with Boniface. His numerous letters to the latter show with what sympathy he watched his work and how clearly he realised its importance. He had his reward. He saw the reverence for the Apostolic See and the vicar of Peter which had always marked the English Christians take firm root also amongst the Franks[3]. Pilgrims thronged to Rome under the patronage and protection of the king.

Under the Pope's influence, too, metropolitan rule was restored, not only in the North where Boniface's authority prevailed, but also in the South, where Austrobert, archbishop of Vienne, became his representative[4]. And he had the gratification of enlisting the aid of the whole Gallo-Frank Church thus reorganised in the Christian task of reconciling king Pippin and his slighted brother Grifo[5].

The Mayors of the Palace.

It was now the turn of the Franks to invoke aid. In 751 two ecclesiastics came to Rome from Pippin to consult Zacharias as to the legitimacy of dethroning the dynasty which had so long nominally held the monarchy of the Franks. Since Dagobert I. the Merovingian kings had been weaklings to whom the name of Insensati has not unreasonably been given. Under the earlier of these the utter disorganisation had set in from which the country was still suffering. At length Pippin of Heristal, a powerful Austrasian noble, had assumed the office of Mayor of the Palace to the helpless sovereign of the time,

[1] Zach. Ep. VIII.
[2] Ep. IV.
[3] Zach. Ep. XII.
[4] See Zach. Ep. XIX.
[5] See Zach. Ep. XVII.

and by force of arms had held the fitful realm in awe. On his death, his son Karl had succeeded to his power after a severe contest. As we have seen, it had now descended to Pippin, the son of Karl, the king, Childerich III., being a nerveless puppet who was once a year brought out from his royal sequestration and shown to his subjects in a solemn procession. 714.

But the farce was now played out. There was every motive for bringing it to a close. The Franks might naturally object to a monarch who could not lead them in battle—the task par excellence of a German king. Pippin might well desire to raise himself above the jealousies of his fellow-nobles and to seat his family firmly in hereditary power. The people in gratitude to the family for the deliverance wrought for them at Tours would gladly acquiesce. The Church would fall in with the wishes of its liberal patron. And Boniface, who is believed to have been one of the leaders in this quiet revolution, would naturally desire to see his staunch supporter rewarded with the supreme majesty.

The Pope the donor of Kingdoms. 752.

Zacharias was not likely to hesitate long about his answer, or to disappoint his powerful client. The messengers soon returned to Pippin with the Pope's sanction of his purpose. Childerich was quietly set aside in a monastery. An assembly at Soissons elected Pippin to succeed him. But the inauguration of his reign was not yet complete. Boniface came forward as the representative of the Pope, and amidst the applause of the Franks anointed him king. A memorable scene! the birth of a system which bound the West with fetters of strife and disorder for centuries.

The mightiest king on earth receiving his crown as the gift of Heaven, and the defenceless bishop of a

distant city claiming by his representative to interpret the will and exercise the authority of Heaven!

The Pope did not long survive this momentous act. In the same year he died, nor did his chosen successor live to complete the ceremonies of his ordination.

Pope Stephen II.

Stephen II., the next Pope, was a man of very inferior mind to Zacharias, but by his weakness the union between Frankish king and Roman bishop which the strength of his predecessor had so effectively promoted was still further cemented. He speedily became entangled in war with the Lombards, and finding himself unable to contend with Aistulf, Liutprand's able and energetic successor, appealed to Pippin for aid. That monarch, occupied at the time with an Aquitanian war, sent two councillors to invite him to come to him. Protected by their companionship the Pope passed safely through his Lombard foes. Beyond the Alps he was met by Pippin's elder son Karl, who led him to Pontyon, whence the king himself escorted him to Paris. Here he appointed Pippin and his sons kings of the Franks, laying under the ban of an interdict any who should endeavour to deprive his posterity of the crown. This denunciation marks a new stage in the development of the claims of the Papacy. Not merely had the Popes claimed the right of anointing the king of the Franks; not merely had they been consulted on his appointment; they now defend the monarch of their choice with spiritual arms. For the first time had they threatened to punish with the interdict what was not an ecclesiastical offence. Or rather they had linked their fortunes so closely with those of one Frankish house that attacks upon it had become attacks on their own power.

His visit to the Frankish Court.

The Papal Curse again.

The first use of the Papal Curse was, as we have seen, in defence of sacred institutions against the Frankish

kings. It is remarkable that the next employment of such powers in Gaul by a Pope should be in their favour.

A dispute had meanwhile arisen between Boniface and the Pope. Stephen had infringed Boniface's metropolitan rights by ordaining a bishop of Metz. The quarrel which ensued was with difficulty arranged by Pippin, who besought them as being the head of the Church not to set an evil example to its inferior members. Shortly afterwards, Boniface handed over his see to an English follower named Lull, and devoted his last few months to mission-work beyond the Rhine, where a martyr's death awaited him. His memorial was the Christianity of Germany, the reformation in Gaul, and the development of the Papal power. He had taught the German and Gallic Churches to recognise the Pope as their head; he had brought their monasteries to follow the example of his own at S. Fulda and seek the protection of the Pope[1]; he had taught the kings and people of the Franks to see in the Bishop of Rome the vicar of S. Peter and the representative of God on earth.

The end of Boniface.

His work.

To counteract the influence of the Pope upon Pippin Aistulf prevailed on Karlmann to leave his retreat at Monte Casino and dissuade Pippin from championing his cause. It was in vain. Stephen, who was detained by illness at the Abbey of S. Denys, relegated him to detention at Vienne for breaking his monastic vows—a signal display of his authority in Frankish eyes. On his recovery, Pippin and his army marched south with him, and on Aistulf's rejection of the offered terms entered Italy and besieged Pavia[2]. Aistulf immediately made

The Franks as champions of the Papacy.

754 A.D.

[1] Bonif. Ep. xci. Zach. Ep. xv.

[2] See Annales Veteres Francorum. Migne, t. 98, p. 1416.

peace for forty years, at the cost of all his conquests. No sooner had Pippin withdrawn, however, than Aistulf refused to comply with these conditions, cut off all communication by land between the Pope and Gaul, and besieged Rome. But Stephen sent by sea to Pippin a letter[1], demanding his return and threatening him with the wrath of God and perdition if he did not keep his promise to protect him. In a second letter[2] he appealed to his pity, at the same time promising as the reward of speedy succour 'victory over all the barbarians and eternal life.' As neither threats nor pathos nor promises moved Pippin, Stephen wrote a third letter[3] to him in the name of Peter himself. The Apostle is made to declare that all the victories of the Franks who are first in his favour of all the nations under heaven are due to his aid, and to bid them march to the protection of his vicar. Roused at last by this appeal, the Franks once more crossed the Alps, besieged Pavia, and compelled Aistulf to abandon all debated territory.

A Papal forgery.

This, comprising as it did Ravenna and almost the whole of the exarchate, should naturally have reverted to the Emperor. But his envoys vainly demanded its restoration. The victorious Frank conferred it upon the Pope. The estates of the Roman Church were supposed to provide for its poor, but the magnitude of this gift entirely altered the nature of their tenure. It raised the Pope from the trusteeship of a church possessing a few farms to a temporal sovereignty of independence, wealth, and power.

'The Gift of Constantine.' 755 A.D.

The changed position of the Pope is clearly marked by the letter of thanks[4] which Stephen sent to Pippin.

[1] Stephen II. Ep. III. Migne, 89, p. 996.
[2] Ep. IV. [3] Ep. V.
[4] Ep. VI.

Nominally still a subject of the Emperor, he has affronted that ruler by occupying lands he claimed. Rome therefore needs protection not merely from the Lombard but also from its own Emperor. To secure it, the Pope commits himself, his city and the church of S. Peter to the care of the Frankish king, a complication which requires no emphasis. At this time he seems to have conferred upon Pippin the title 'Patrician of Rome' an ambiguous term which might denote either first citizen of the Roman republic or, on the analogy of the Imperial Patrician of Sicily and the Frankish Patricii Galliarum, governor and magistrate of Rome.

The Pope in rebellion.

Two years later Stephen died and was succeeded by his brother Paul. The changed relations of the Papacy were now clearly seen, for, while earlier elections had required the sanction of the Emperor or his Exarch, for the first time since the days of Constantine this formality was neglected. On the other hand, just as his predecessors had apprised the Emperor of their election by the clergy and people, Paul now announces his to Pippin[1].

The King of the Franks the suzerain of the Pope.

Under his rule, the old border quarrels with the Lombards broke out again. Desiderius, however, Aistulf's successor, was careful not to carry his opposition to the Pope so far as to bring the Franks into Italy to his relief. In the midst of a victorious career, he stayed his hand when the Pope's request for help gained Pippin's ear[2]. Paul had however in his danger removed many treasures and relics from the open suburbs of Rome into the city. The Franks took the opportunity of asking that the bodies of saints in whom they had a special interest should be made over to them. The Pope complied. On a later occasion[3] we find Paul seeking Pippin'

Frankish aid against the Lombards.

[1] Paul I. Ep. I. Migne, 89, p. 1175. [2] Epp. II. III. IV.
[3] Ep. VII.

Sought also against the Emperor.

protection even against the Emperor himself who was planning an invasion of Italy with the object of regaining Ravenna. But he never undertook it. The protection of Pippin's name filled Paul with an unbounded gratitude and no praise was too high to be lavished on him by the befriended Pope who saw in him a new Moses or David.

Factions at Rome.

Meanwhile three factions seem to have grown up in Rome, one national, the others favouring respectively the Lombards and the Franks. On Paul's death, the national party hurriedly ordained a noble named Constantine and set him in the Papal chair. Yet even he appealed to Pippin to extend to him the protection he had afforded his predecessors[1]. But after a year's reign, he was deposed by the other parties supported by Desiderius, and a Lombard partisan, Stephen III., was appointed in his place.

His first act was to announce his election to Pippin in the hope of forestalling opposition from the Franks. But before his messengers could reach the Frankish
768. court, Pippin's death had raised his sons Karl and Karlmann to the throne. They sent a deputation of twelve bishops to Rome to act as their representatives. And then for the first time was seen the spectacle of the emissaries of a German nation settling the succession of

General Conclave for Election of the Pope.

the Bishops of Rome. They gathered round them some of the Italian bishops and formed themselves into a Lateran Council. Here they annulled the election and acts of Constantine, confirmed the appointment of Stephen, and vehemently denounced iconoclasm.

This Council, the first anticipation of the Conclave of Cardinals, thus established that the Popes having claimed, as Boniface III. had done in 607, the title of Universal Bishop, and having assumed, as Zacharias and his succes-

[1] See letters of Constantine, Migne, t. 98, p. 233.

sors had done, the supremacy of the Churches of England, Germany and Gaul, could no longer be chosen merely by the clergy and people of Rome. Supported as they were by the Frankish Kings and ruling over the Churches of the West, both Kings and clergy of the whole West claimed a voice in their election.

The Roman adherents of the Frankish party could ill brook that a nominee of the Lombard King should be their Bishop. With the sanction of Dodo, one of Karlmann's envoys, they formed a plot against Stephen. But it failed, and Desiderius came to Rome and executed Christopher and Sergius, the Roman ecclesiastics who had originated the conspiracy. In great wrath Karlmann threatened to enter Italy and depose Stephen. The Pope however wrote letters of explanation[1] to that King's mother Bertha and his brother Karl and by their intervention escaped the danger.

Alliance of Franks and Lombards.

But Desiderius was anxious to free himself from apprehension of troubles with the Franks, and eagerly sought an alliance with their two kings. Foreseeing that the effect of this alliance would be to leave him defenceless against the Lombards, and perhaps having already quarrelled with them on the old questions of boundaries and church rights, Stephen strained every effort to prevent its being brought about[2]. No denunciation of this suggestion of the Devil was too strong, no curse too deep for him to imprecate upon the two young princes if they should yield to the Lombard's wish. All was in vain. The negotiations ran their course. Karl divorced his Frankish wife and married Hermingard, daughter of Desiderius, whose son Adelchis was betrothed to the sister of the two young kings.

[1] Stephen III. Ep. II. Migne, 89, p. 1249.

[2] Ep. IV.

772 A.D. *Hadrian I.* Stephen did not long survive this dreaded alliance, but his successor the cool and astute Hadrian I. soon saw it broken. After a year, Karl, whose cruel and headstrong youth gave little promise of his greatness, dismissed his Lombard wife and married a German princess. The Pope, by no means sorry to see the dangerous connexion dissolved, refused to interfere. The insult was not forgotten by Desiderius, though he was then too weak to avenge it.

In 771 Karlmann died, and Karl at once seized upon his kingdom. Aided by a few faithful nobles, Karlmann's children escaped to the court of Desiderius, who appealed to the Pope to join him in demanding their rights for them. Hadrian refused, and annihilated the Lombard faction at Rome. At once Desiderius, thinking that Karl was occupied with a Saxon war and troubles in Gaul, marched against Rome. Hadrian gathered troops, strengthened the fortifications of the city, sent appeals to Karl for help, and prepared to stand a siege. Envoys came from Karl to encourage the Pope and to make known to the Lombards his conditions of peace, involving the surrender of Karlmann's children. These were rejected. Karl after a slight check forced the passage of the Alps and shut up Desiderius and Adelchis in Pavia and Verona[1]. The blockade lasted many months.

Karl at Rome. 774. In the interval Karl spent Easter at Rome, being the first Frankish monarch who had entered the Eternal City. Pope, Senate, populace welcomed him with all ceremony and pomp. The zeal of the first was rewarded by the confirmation of Pippin's donation to Stephen II. The territory had been lost to the Lombards, from whom once more the Frankish champion of S. Peter had recovered it. The diploma conferring this gift was laid on

[1] Annales Vet. Franc. Migne, 98, p. 1418.

the altar of the church of S. Peter as a grateful offering by the king in person.

Fall of the Lombard Kingdom.

On Karl's return to his army Desiderius surrendered and retired into a monastery, his conqueror taking the title King of the Lombards. By this title Hadrian had already addressed him; whether as a suggestion that he should assume it, or as claiming the right as God's Vicar to bestow the kingdoms of the earth upon whom he would, or merely in adulation, we cannot decide.

Into the possession of the territory Karl had conferred upon him the Pope did not at once enter. Leo the Archbishop of Ravenna[1] refused to recognise the right of his fellow Archbishop to sovereignty over his See, and held many of the northern towns against him until Karl interposed to give effect to his words. In return for his services Hadrian later surrendered to Karl the wonderful mosaics and statues of the imperial palace at Ravenna[2].

The claims of Hadrian.

Hadrian was not the man to bate his rights. Nominally still a subject of the Emperor, and practically dependent upon the Frankish king, acknowledging him too as the Patrician of Rome, he yet asserted his position as an independent prince, and refused to recognise any authority but his own in the lands just ceded to him. He claimed to have his own ambassadors; he appointed his own magistrates, collected the revenues of his territory by his own servants, enlisted his own armies. If he looked to Karl for protection, it was as a weak independent state might expect help from a stronger ally from whom gratitude and respect were due.

The Pope and the King.

The presence of Karl was soon required again in Italy. As King of the Lombards he too was drawn into

[1] Hadrian Epp. II. and III (LII and LIII). Migne, 98, p. 283.

[2] Hadrian Ep. XXXII. (LXXXII.).

disputes with the Pope. For the old standing grievance of the 'justices' remained unsettled. Whether these were dues demanded from the Lombard communities by the Pope, or estates asserted to be part of the patrimony of Peter, or—is not this possible?—the right to try ecclesiastical offenders by his own courts, the officers of Karl refused, as the Lombard kings before them had done, to recognise them, and Hadrian laid his remonstrances before their lord[1].

The Pope and the Lombard Dukes.

Other difficulties too awaited his attention. The Popes had got rid of their troublesome Lombard neighbour in the North, but East and South still lay the duchies of the same bitterly-hated race, and for their destruction Hadrian left no means of instigating Karl against them untried. He alleged[2] that Karl had promised to surrender to him the Lombard Duchy of Spoleto, and claimed that the promise should be kept. His aggressiveness drove the Lombards to form a League for
776. self-defence, an act of which he bitterly complained to Karl[3]. They retaliated[4] by accusing the Pope to the Frankish king of carrying on a traffic in slaves with the
778. Saracen corsairs of his coasts, a charge which, when the king remonstrated, he retorted[5] with perhaps equal justice on his accusers. The difference grew in bitterness
780. until Arichis Duke of Benevento, aided by the Neapolitans and Imperial troops, attacked Terracina[6] within the Papal dominions. Meanwhile Hildebrand Duke of Spoleto had gone in person to the Court of Karl, and urged him to visit Italy. This suggestion he now adopted, and after a stately progress through his dominions reached

[1] Hadrian Ep. VI. (LVI.).
[2] Hadrian Ep. VII. (LVII.).
[3] Ep. VIII. (LVIII.).
[4] Ep. XI. (LXI.).
[5] Ep. XIV. (LXIV.).
[6] Ep. XVI. (LXVI.).

Rome in 780. He succeeded in appeasing for the moment the quarrels that had arisen, but left the Lombard Dukes in possession of their old power and territories to the chagrin of the Pope. On this visit however the Pope was allowed the privilege of becoming sponsor of one of his sons. He also baptized Ludwig and Pippin the young princes, and anointed them to the kingdoms of Aquitaine and Lombardy respectively[1].

Friendship of Hadrian and Karl.

Each year brought the King and Pope into closer friendship. It is needless here to give a detailed account of their correspondence. No previous Pope had found so many points of contact with a temporal sovereign. The relations of Rome and the Lombard Dukes formed but one of many subjects of common interest. Again and again Hadrian writes asking for the cession of territory[2]. The organisation of the Church in Karl's domains occupies his attention on other occasions[3]. The malpractices of the priesthood of Gaul call forth his remonstrances[4]. The building of churches in Rome depending upon the promised supply of Northern timber, he writes to ask for it[5]. But that he felt himself to be on terms of real friendship with the King is shown by the letters expressing his prayers and good wishes for him before he opens his campaigns and his congratulations when they close in victory[6].

Moreover he had a near ally at the very court of Karl. Just as Pippin and the contemporary Popes had been linked together by the work of Boniface, so now the

[1] Annals, p. 1420.
[2] E.g. Epp. XVIII. (LXVIII.), XIX. (LXIX.).
[3] Ep. XXXVII. (LXXXVII.).
[4] Epp. XXVIII. (LXXVIII.), XXX. (LXXX.).
[5] Ep. XXXVIII. (LXXXVIII.).
[6] Epp. XI. (LXI.), XXXV. (LXXXV.).

Alcuin. influence of Alcuin, Karl's chief adviser, brought Karl and Hadrian nearer together. To that influence perhaps may be largely traced the king's patronage of literature and ecclesiastical progress. To Alcuin, whom Karl met at Pavia on his return from Rome in 780, are probably due the steps which the King took to obtain the transmission to Gaul by the Pope of many ecclesiastical writings[1], including some of the works of Gregory the Great[2]. This intercourse thus inaugurated did much to instil a love of literature and learning in the minds of the Franks. The revolution in the worship of the Church in his dominions which Karl effected after his next visit to Rome may perhaps be suitably mentioned here. He ordained that throughout his realms Gregorian music should take the place of Ambrosian[3], obtaining from Hadrian the necessary manuscripts, including a book of anthems written by the Pope's own hand. Hadrian also sent to him two teachers of Gregorian music, one of whom he settled at a school at Metz which he designed to be the centre of instruction for his whole realm, the other he carried about with his Court. And this is but one instance of the development of arts and literature which resulted from the connexion between Karl and the Papal See.

Karl and Culture.

The Church under Karl. Its result on the state of the Church in Gaul it is not hard to see. That Alcuin was no less favourable to the claims of Rome than Boniface had been is clear from

[1] Hadrian is said to have sent to Karl copies of the decrees of all the General Councils and a 'compendium Graecorum canonum'. Migne, 98, p. 271.

[2] E.g. in 791 Hadrian sent Karl the Sacramentarium of Gregory. Ep. XLIX. (XCIX.). See also Appendix II.

[3] Pippin had sent monks to Rome in the time of Paul I., to learn church-singing, cf. Paul I. Ep. IX.

his addressing the Pope as 'Vicar of the Apostles', 'Heir to S. Peter's miraculous power', 'Prince of the Church'. And though Karl himself kept the Papal authority in control, he always treated the Bishop of Rome as far above all other prelates. To the Church he always gave his first care. In his assemblies its affairs always took the precedence. The majority in these meetings were ecclesiastics, and from them he always selected his chief counsellors. And thus was the Church in his dominions once more reorganised. Once more the bishops were subjected to the control of Metropolitans and all were knit into a compact body, the head of which was the Pope.

The Lombard League. That prelate took advantage of his growing influence upon Karl to indulge his hostility to the Lombards[1]. He seized upon Capua and Campania and, when in self-defence Arichis, Duke of Benevento, formed once more a Lombard League[2] and attacked Amalfi, summoned Karl to his aid. That monarch immediately marched to Rome, whereupon Arichis submitted and consented to pay tribute. Upon his death in the following year, Hadrian exerted all his influence to persuade Karl to absorb his duchy in his dominions[3], and thus make an end of the national existence of the Lombards. But the king's generosity and justice were proof against the suggestions of the Pope. He restored Grimoald, the son of Arichis, who was a hostage in his hands, to his people and set him in his father's seat.

786. 787. 788.

The last occasion also which brought Hadrian and

[1] Milman seems not to have discerned clearly the order of the quarrels of Hadrian with the Lombards nor to have noticed that Arichis twice formed a League against him.

[2] Hadrian Ep. XXXVIII. (LXXXVIII.).

[3] Hadrian Ep. XL. (XC.), XLIII. (XCIII.).

Karl into contact showed that the King was able to hold his own against the Pope, and not content to surrender his independence of mind. In 794 by pre-arrangement with the Pope, Karl convoked a General Council of the Church[1]. It is interesting to note that he thus usurped this function of the Emperor while still but King of the Franks and Lombards. Three hundred Bishops met at Frankfort in answer to his summons, from Gaul, Italy, Germany and Spain, and two legates were sent by the Pope to preside in his stead. According to arrangement, Karl and the Pope brought before the Council the heresy of Adoptianism which Felix of Urgel and Elipand of Toledo had been preaching in Spain[2], which was thereupon condemned and anathematised by the assembled Bishops.

The Council of Frankfort.

Adoptianism.

But the Council's next proceedings were rather less gratifying to the Pope. For his predecessors had fulminated against Iconoclasm and excommunicated the Emperors for supporting it. Not ten years before, the breach had been healed by a Council at Nicaea in which the decrees of many a Roman Council ordering the adoration of pictures and images had been confirmed. And now with the approval of Karl, this great Western Council denounced image-worship, and to Hadrian were sent the Libri Carolini setting forth its views[3].

Image-Worship.

In this difficult position Hadrian contrived by dwelling on slight differences in the phraseology in the decrees of the two Councils to avoid accusing either of error, and wisely left the dispute to the settlement of time[4].

795. In the course of the following year he died, to the

[1] Annals, p. 1424. Capit. Regum Franc. I. 73.

[2] Cf. Hadrian Ep. XXXIII. (LXXXIII.).

[3] See Capitulare de Imaginibus. Migne, 98, p. 989.

[4] See Appendix to same, p. 1247.

grief of Karl who wept for him as for a son or brother beloved. Despite the independent sovereignty which he had claimed, his successor Leo III. was careful to recognise to the full all Karl's rights. He immediately sent to him, as Patrician and protector of Rome, the keys of its gates and of the sepulchre of S. Peter and the standard of the city[1]. He begged him to despatch nobles to Rome to administer to the citizens an oath of fidelity and submission. Little wonder is it that this strange obsequiousness drew from Karl an expression of his pleasure 'at the humility of your obedience and the promise of loyalty to us[2].' To administer the new oath of allegiance to him he sent the Abbot Engilbert. *Pope Leo III.*

But not all his cringing to Karl could avert from Leo the dangers which he seems to have apprehended. In the spring of 799 a conspiracy headed by two of Hadrian's nephews attempted to incapacitate him for his office by blinding him and cutting out his tongue. Their outrageous design failed, but their party seems to have had the support not only of many of the nobles of Rome but also of the populace. The Pope was rescued from the turbulent city by the Frankish Duke of Spoleto, and at once begged Karl to come to his support. Engrossed in a war with the Saxons, the King suggested that Leo should visit him until he was in a position to see justice done to him. He at once set out, and was received with great honour at Paderborn, notwithstanding that the people of Rome lodged with Karl grave charges against him. The investigation into these the King postponed till he should arrive in Rome, but sent Leo back with a large escort and a promise of amnesty. *Plot against him.* *His flight to Karl.* *His return.*

Next year Karl entered Rome and proceeded to deal 800.

[1] Migne, 98, p. 495.

[2] Car. Mag. Ep. VIII. Migne, 98, p. 907.

with the charges made against the Pope[1]. The clergy, to whom he referred them, declared their incompetency to sit in judgement upon their head, and Karl, when the Pope had made a public profession of his innocence, dismissed the charges and imprisoned his accusers. One account however asserts that Karl himself held a careful judicial examination[2] of the charges without protest from Leo whom he finally acquitted.

Coronation of Karl as Emperor.

On the following Christmas-Day high festival was held. Karl and all his Court attended mass at S. Peter's Church. The Pope chanted the service, and at its conclusion to the surprise of Karl crowned him Emperor with the old Roman title Caesar Augustus. The next day he and his son Pippin were anointed to this new dignity, and swore to maintain all the powers and privileges of the Roman See.

Conclusion.

Of the importance of this event as opening the era of modern history we need not speak. It was also the culmination of the history of Western Europe for the four centuries preceding it. It was the natural completion of the developments we have traced. The barbarians who scarce two centuries before were heathen now took part in the election of the Universal Bishop of Christendom. The Frankish house which had been raised by its connexion with Rome to the possession of the kingdom of the Franks and that of the Lombards, was now by the same connexion exalted to the Imperial throne. The princes who had subjected to the Popes the Churches of Gaul and Lombardy and Germany now laid at their feet the West and all their destined realms. And the prelates who by their friendship had been saved

[1] Annals, p. 1427.

[2] Milman (II. 269) thus interprets the phrase from the Annals 'In quibus vel maximum vel difficillimum erat.'

from ruin had by that same friendship gained a province for their own, and crushed mighty kings. The relations which had begun in humble dependence were ending in majesty. The Bishop who had granted the title Consul of Rome to a foreign chief to save his people now assumed the right to confer the kingly rank or Imperial title on whom he would.

APPENDIX II.

The Editions &c. of the Letters of Gregory the Great.

The late Paul Ewald whose untimely death at the age of thirty-six has robbed Germany of one of her most promising historical students had devoted himself to the difficult task of editing the Letters of Gregory the Great for the series Monumenta Germaniae Historica. At the very outset he found himself confronted by the difficulty of deciding the chronology of the different letters. The accepted order he found to be insufficiently accredited. His first endeavour was consequently to discover right principles for their arrangement.

Mss. His examination of the extant Mss. revealed the existence of three collections. The largest of these Ewald calls R. It consists of 686 letters divided into Indictions, and is plausibly identified by Ewald with a selection of Decretal letters made by Pope Hadrian I.[1]. The collection would seem to owe its origin to the desire of Karl the Great to possess copies of various ecclesiastical writings. John the Deacon (Vita Greg. II. 9) tells us of that King's efforts to introduce the Gregorian

[1] Cf. Joh. Diac. Vita Gregorii IV. 71. Ex quorum multitudine primi Hadriani papae temporibus quaedam epistolae decretales per singulas indictiones excerptae sunt et in duobus voluminibus sicut modo cernitur congregatae.

Church-music into his dominions, and a letter of Hadrian's[1] refers to his request for a copy of Gregory's Liber Sacramentorum. Not improbably the selection and transmission of the letters of Gregory contained in R resulted from the same interest of Karl in the works of Gregory.

Some Mss. have been found containing only the first 393 of these letters: others with only the remaining 293. These classes of Mss. Ewald calls r and ρ; seeing in them copies of the two volumes of which Hadrian's Register was said by John the Deacon to be composed.

The earliest complete Ms. of R dates from the XIth century though fragments of an earlier date are known. One Ms. of r comes to us from century IX., one of ρ from century X.

A second class of Mss. is based upon another collection consisting of 200 letters, and this Ewald calls C. The earlier Mss. have no division into either Indictions or Books, though the letters are numbered. Various signs point to its being earlier than R. It seems to have had but a narrow range, though a Ms. of this class has been found dating from the VIIIth century. A third class of Mss., one of which also dates from century VIII., gives evidence of the existence of a third collection consisting of 53 letters. This Ewald identifies with a collection sent by a certain Paul to Adalard Abbot of the Monastery of Corbey in the time of Karl the Great[2].

Combinations.

Naturally these collections were variously combined. Mss. are extant of the combinations C + P, ρ + P, C + P + ρ, and R + P + C. This last combination, which Ewald calls 'the completed R', seems to have originated in century XII. In it, the 21 letters contained in P

[1] Jaffé Bibl. IV. 274.

[2] Mabillon, I. 397.

but not in R are added at the end of Indiction VII. and the 144 letters peculiar to C are made to form an Indiction VIII.

This first rough arrangement was followed by 'The Milan Codification,' undertaken at the instigation of Cardinal John Arcimbaldi, Archbishop of Milan 1485–1488. The letters peculiar to P and C were scattered in small groups through the last six Books. Though the phrase 'ex Registro' prefixed to the collection might appear to give official sanction to the order, the arrangement seems to have been quite arbitrary. And yet until the Benedictine almost all editions followed this codification.

Editions. The first printed Edition of Gregory's Letters (Augsburg about 1472) exactly followed a Ms. of 'the completed R' class.

The second a Venetian Edition of 1504 and the succeeding fourteen, all following the Milan order, call for no remark.

In 1588–1593 an Edition of Gregory's works was issued at Rome 'jussu Sixti V. emendata' and of this the next six editions were merely reprints.

At Paris in 1675 Peter Goussainville published an edition of Gregory's Works based upon 35 Mss. mainly French. The second volume contained the Letters with explanatory notes, drawn largely from a book 'Notae et observationes in XII. libros Epistolarum Gregorii Magni,' published 1669 by Alteserra, a learned Professor at Toulouse.

Thirty years later came the great Benedictine Edition of Gregory's Works by the monks of St Maur. In 1697 one of them Dom Denis de S^{te} Marthe had written an 'Histoire de St Grégoire le Grand.' In 1699 with the sanction of Pope Clement XI., he in collaboration with

another monk of the order, Dom Guillaume Bessin, commenced an edition of Gregory's Works. Bessin undertook the Letters, and made some alterations in their order, though he did not satisfy S^te^ Marthe. The result may be regarded as a slight advance on all previous editions. Though most of the letters peculiar to C, which with one exception are undated, were left in the order of the Milan Codification, alterations were made where there seemed to be reasons for them. Though the order of the letters in R, which have many marks of time, was regarded as not fixed, the letters peculiar to P, which also have many dates, were for the most part inserted in their proper positions. The old division into twelve books gave place to one into fourteen corresponding to the Indictions. Goussainville's notes were retained, and a few added.

This Edition was followed by a Venetian Edition of Gregory's Works in 1768–1776 by Gallicciolli, who erroneously described it as 'an enlarged and improved Edition' of the Benedictine, while the volume of the Abbé Migne's Patrologia which contains Gregory's Letters (Paris, 1851) is an exact reprint of the Edition of 1705.

Ewald's Analysis of the Classes of Mss.

With the knowledge of Mss. which he had gained, Ewald could not, like his predecessors, take as his starting point the arbitrary arrangement of the Milan Codification. He found himself compelled to go behind this and work from the Mss. themselves. His first aim was to discover the origin of the three classes into which they are divided. R we have already seen cause for believing to be a collection of Hadrian I. at the request of Karl the Great.

A comparison of R and C gives us 55 letters common to both classes. The remarkable fact that the

relative order of these letters is the same in both points to a common source for the two classes.

A comparison of R and P gives 21 letters common to both classes, falling into three groups, the letters of which preserve the same relative order. Hence we may gather that we have here two independent selections from the same source.

Thus R, P and C seem to be derived from one large collection of Gregory's Letters.

The Papal Register.

What then was this Collection? To answer this question it is necessary to remember that from the middle of Century III. may be traced the existence of ecclesiastical archives at Rome. From the time of Leo the Great it seems probable that the correspondence of the Bishop of Rome was formally arranged and officially preserved there, while, not improbably, Gregory the Great left upon the system the impress of his orderly mind. Thus was formed what has been called the Lateran Register. That a large number of Gregory's Letters chronologically arranged were thus kept admits of no doubt. Such a register under the Papal control formed the chief authority for the biography of Gregory written by John the Deacon. In his dedication of his work to John VIII.[1] he appeals to it against any charge of inaccuracy, 'Si cui tamen, ut assolet, visum fuerit aliter, ad plenitudinem scrinii vestri recurrens, tot charticios libros epistolarum ejusdem patris quot annos probatur vixisse revolvat.' In the biography[2] wishing to show Gregory's diligence he writes:—Ab exponendis epistolis quamdiu vivere potuit nunquam omnino cessavit: quarum videlicet tot libros in scrinio dereliquit quot annos advixit. Unde quartumdecimum epistolarum librum

[1] Prologue. [2] IV. 71.

septimae indictionis imperfectum reliquit quoniam ad eiusdem indictionis terminum non pertingit.

John wrote in the year 872, but that this Register containing Gregory's official letters existed a century and a half before is clear from the Introduction to Bede's History. He there speaks of the journey of Nothelm a London priest to Rome, and of his discovery of some letters of Gregory and other Popes, 'perscrutato ejusdem sanctae ecclesiae Romanae scrinio, permissu ejus qui nunc ipsi ecclesiae praeest, Gregorii pontificis.' In 735 Boniface writes to Nothelm asking for copies of the questions addressed by Augustine to Gregory and the Pope's answers, 'quia in scrinio Romanae ecclesiae ut adfirmant scriniarii, cum ceteris exemplaribus supradicti pontificis quaesita non inveniebatur.'

That the selection of Hadrian was made from the Lateran Register is almost indisputable. John says that the letters 'ex librorum multitudine excerptae sunt[1].' If this be so and if Ewald's identification of R with Hadrian's Register be correct, we have now discovered the source of all the three collections. R would be a selection of letters from every part of the Register. Can we localise C and P?

Reconstruction of the Papal Register by Ewald.

All the letters common to C and R belong in the latter to Indiction II., and the order warrants us in assigning the rest of the C-letters to the same indiction.

Similarly with P. The letters common to P and R form three groups belonging respectively to Indictions X. XIII. and IV. The order of the remaining P-letters together with the dates frequently preserved enables us without improbability to assign them to the same indictions.

Thus though P and C are without division into books or indictions and though only one letter in C is dated,

[1] IV. 71.

we are able by comparison with R which is divided into Indictions and which contains many dated letters to obtain an approximate date for all the letters in the three collections. Thus though Ewald's dream of a reconstructed Lateran Register still remains a dream because not all the letters it must have contained can have reached us, a nearer approximation to its realisation has been made than could have been conceived of before his investigations.

Ewald's Edition.

The principles of arrangement he had thus obtained, Ewald intended to apply in his Edition. Unfortunately he lived long enough to edit only the first four books, which are comparatively but little affected by his investigations. Yet even here his careful study of Mss. has been of the utmost importance, for no student of the Latinity of the period can afford to neglect the light he has thrown upon its orthography.

The first part of this great Edition was published at Berlin in 1887, but the death of the Editor has left it uncertain whether it can be completed.

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